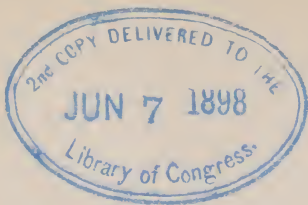


The SPANIARD IN HISTORY



BY~JAMES~C~FERNALD:::

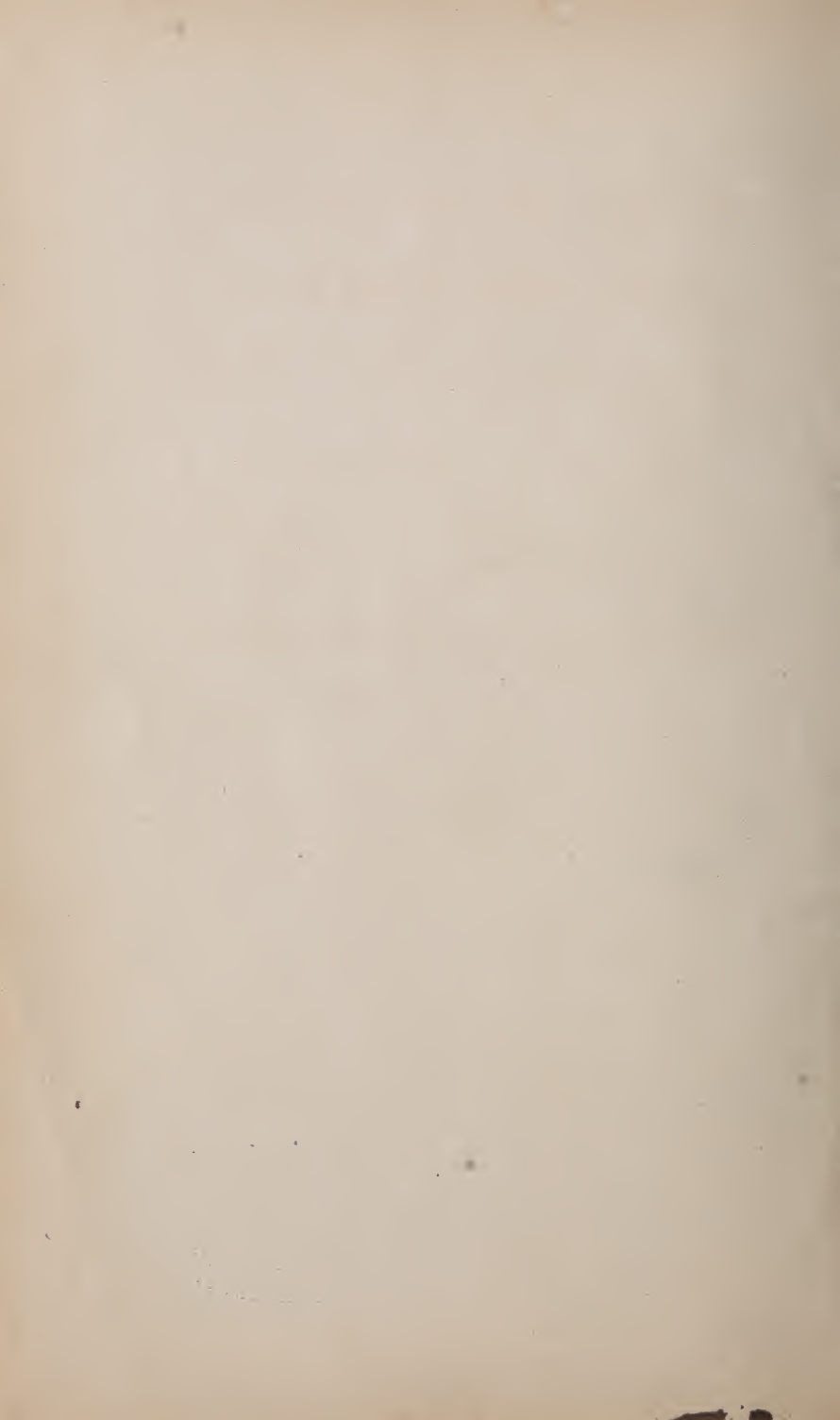


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THE SPANIARD IN HISTORY

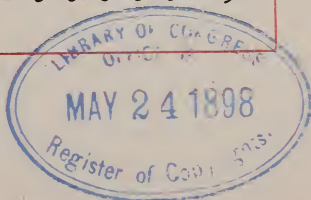
BY

JAMES C. FERNALD

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PREFACE

It is not the purpose of this little volume to give a chronological history of Spain, but simply to show in clear light, through leading incidents of Spanish history, some leading traits of Spanish character which have profoundly influenced the destiny of that people, and deeply concern all who have dealings with the Spanish race among the family of nations. The author believes that it is possible to gain an estimate of a nation by swift characterization at critical moments of its history, which shall be more just, as well as more vivid, than any that can be gained by monotonously tracing its chronology.

There will be found a striking unity in the character of the Spanish people, as exemplified at different periods of their long and eventful history. This unity they themselves are proud to recognize. Admiral Cervera, in his recent address to his men, just before leaving the Cape Verde Islands, exhorted them thus: "Then, when I lead you to battle, have confidence in your chiefs; and

PREFACE

the nation, whose eye is upon you, will see that *Spain to-day is the Spain of all time!*"

But that something is wrong with Spain must be apparent, it would seem, even to her own people. How else should her once splendid, world-wide empire have so fallen into decay? Now her possessions have dwindled to a fraction of the Iberian Peninsula and three mutinous colonies, one of which already lies under American guns. Spain herself has declined to the position of a fourth-rate European power, scarcely able to bolster up by ruinous loans her exhausted finances. Here are effects for which there is surely a cause. That cause is not in any desolating foreign invasion, and must be in some qualities of the Spanish people. What are some, at least, of those fateful traits, it is believed that this brief sketch will make evident.

The lesson of interest to the American people is that the Spaniard, as he has shown himself in history, is not one to be trusted with the control of a weak or subject race. The sword which has been drawn in behalf of the oppressed of Cuba must not be sheathed till Spanish power has ceased to touch with its blight the Western World.

JAMES C. FERNALD.

NEW YORK, May 18, 1898.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
The Spanish Race	7

CHAPTER II

Rise of the Spanish Monarchy	20
--	----

CHAPTER III

The Inquisition	35
---------------------------	----

CHAPTER IV

The Conquest of Granada	59
-----------------------------------	----

CHAPTER V

Expulsion of the Jews and Moors	70
---	----

CHAPTER VI

The Spaniard in the West Indies	78
---	----

CHAPTER VII

The Spaniard in Mexico and Peru	84
---	----

CONTENTS

CHAPTER VIII	
	PAGE
The Spaniard on the Throne	95
CHAPTER IX	
The Spaniard in the Netherlands	104
CHAPTER X	
The Spaniard in the Philippines	117
CHAPTER XI	
The Spaniard in Cuba	126
CHAPTER XII	
The Spaniard on the Sea	133

THE SPANIARD IN HISTORY

I

THE SPANISH RACE

Diversity of Origin—The Iberian Peninsula: its Situation; its Great Elevated Plateau; its Mountains, Plains, and Sea-Coast; its Climate and Products—The Celtic, Phenician, Greek, Carthaginian, Roman, Frank, Vandal, Visigothic, and Saracenic Invasions and Settlements.

To understand the Spanish people of to-day, we must have some knowledge of the long and eventful history that has made them what they are. A people of mingled blood, sprung from a greater variety of stocks than any other European nation, they still bear the stamp of their diverse ancestry, and of the stormy scenes amid which those various races were, to a certain degree, welded into one.

Their land is the Iberian Peninsula, which forms the southwestern portion of the European continent, of which about eleven thirteenths, or all except the strip held by Portugal on the

western coast, is included in the modern kingdom of Spain—a country more than twice the size of Great Britain, its greatest length being 560 miles, and its greatest breadth about 650 miles, its area exceeding 190,000 square miles. Its shores are washed by the Bay of Biscay, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Mediterranean Sea, the coast-line on the Atlantic measuring 605 miles and that on the Mediterranean 712 miles. Safe and spacious harbors are found both on the Atlantic and Mediterranean shores.

The interior of the country is chiefly a vast table-land, or elevated plateau, extending from the Calabrian mountains on the north to the Sierra Morena on the south. The general elevation of this great plateau is from 2,000 to 2,700 feet, and its extent more than 90,000 square miles, or nearly one half of the territory occupied by Spain.

On the north, the range of the Pyrenees, stretching from the Mediterranean to the Bay of Biscay, 270 miles, and including many lofty summits from 9,000 to upward of 11,000 feet in height, divides Spain from France. This is one of seven great mountain ranges or *Cordilleras* of the country, all of which have a general easterly and westerly direction, and of which the southernmost, the Sierra Nevada, running parallel to the

Mediterranean, rises to loftier elevations than are found in any other mountain system of Europe, except the Alps. The chief rivers are the Douro, Tagus, Guadiana, and Guadalquivir, flowing into the Atlantic, and the Ebro, flowing into the Mediterranean.

As might be supposed from the configuration of the country, the climate of Spain is exceedingly various. On the high table-lands, even in summer the nights are decidedly cold, while the winters are often very severe; snowfalls are frequent, and at Madrid (2,150 feet above the sea-level) skating is a common amusement in December and January. In the maritime provinces of the north and northwest, monthly roses bloom in the gardens at Christmas. In the southern provinces along the Mediterranean, a subtropical climate prevails. Much of the central plateau consists of vast, treeless plains, swept by violent tempests in winter and in summer desolated by the scorching heat of the sun. On the highlands of Galicia and Estremadura are pastured great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep.

The vegetable productions are more various than those of any other country in Europe, combining the growths of temperate and of tropical regions. The oak and the cork, the apple and the olive, the lemon, orange, and citron, vines

yielding luscious or fiery wines, together with rice, sugar, and cotton, contribute to make up the varied produce of the Spanish peninsula, which, under better husbandry, might now yield plenteous harvests, as of old. The mineral riches which the Spaniard has gone to the ends of the earth to seek, and for which he has inflicted nameless cruelties on subject populations, still abundantly underlie the soil of his own land.

The original Iberian population of the peninsula is believed to have been overwhelmed at an early period by a great Celtic invasion, the union of the two races forming a people known as the Celtiberians, with greater preponderance of the Celtic element in one part of the country and of the Iberian in another. To this land in very early times the Phenicians came as traders and colonists, carrying on a profitable commerce, and forming considerable settlements on the southern and eastern coasts, especially in Andalusia. The mineral riches of the southwestern portion of the coast, the "Tarshish" of the Old Testament, especially attracted the Phenician traders, their "ships of Tarshish," that made the adventurous voyage to that remote region, holding much the same place in navigation as the Spanish galleons or British Indiamen of the modern world. At an early period also a few settlements were made

and towns founded by the Greeks. In the third century before Christ, the Carthaginians had made considerable conquests under their great generals Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal, the name of their chief city, Carthago Nova, being still preserved in the modern Cartagena or Carthagera. At the same time, the Romans had been establishing themselves at various points on or near the Mediterranean shore, and it was in Spain that Romans and Carthaginians first came to blows in the Second Punic War, when Hannibal (218 B.C.) captured and destroyed Saguntum, the modern Murviedro. In 206 B.C. the Carthaginians were finally driven from the peninsula, and the country was constituted a Roman province, under the name Hispania. But it was long before the Roman arms could subdue "the restless and impressionable tribes," that waged against them an exhausting and seemingly endless guerilla warfare. Roman armies were again and again defeated with heavy loss, and it was not until the reign of Augustus (19 B.C.) that Spain could be said to be effectually subjugated by Rome. Under the Roman dominion the native tribes were compelled to cease their intestine wars. The people adopted the Roman laws and customs. The Latin language was spoken throughout the peninsula. The industrial pur-

suits, which the Romans everywhere protected and fostered among conquered populations, brought great prosperity. Flourishing cities sprung up, of which many still bear a semblance of their Latin names, as Leon (*Legio*), Merida (*Emerita Augusta*), Beja (*Pax Julia*), and Zaragoza or Saragossa (*Cæsar Augusta*). "Pliny, in the reign of Vespasian, gave a list of three hundred and sixty cities in Spain."¹ Aqueducts, bridges, and amphitheaters were built, of which impressive ruins yet remain. Such was the fertility of the country that it was for a long time looked upon as the granary of Rome, while at the same time it was the chief source of the precious metals. Gibbon states that twenty thousand pounds of gold were annually received from three Spanish provinces. For the production of this treasure the natives were forced to labor in the mines for their Roman masters, as in after-times Spain herself wrung mineral wealth from the enforced labor of the subjugated people in her own colonies. There was, however, this difference: that while Rome might oppress, she did not destroy. She planned for long and enduring dominion, and wished her subjects to prosper, that their prosperity might steadily sustain the

¹ Gibbon: "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. i., ch. ii., p. 61.

wealth and grandeur not only of the Eternal City, but of all her vast imperial dominion. Thus for three hundred years Spain was the richest province of the Roman empire. Education flourished, and famous schools and scholars arose. Among the distinguished authors that Spain gave to the Roman world were Martial, Seneca, Quintilian, and Lucan. Trajan, one of the greatest of the Roman emperors, was himself a Spaniard.

It is a striking proof of the wonderful assimilating power of the conquering Roman people, fusing the numerous and various conquered nations into one, that after nearly two thousand years, during which the country has been swept by so many invasions and successively held for centuries at a time by Goth and Saracen, even now the Roman law is the basis of Spanish jurisprudence, while the Spanish language is but a modification of the Latin tongue.

"We may observe," says Gibbon,¹ "as a sure symptom of domestic happiness, that, in a period of four hundred years, Spain furnished very few materials to the history of the Roman empire.

In the year 256 A.D. the country was invaded and ravaged by the Franks, who, however, obtained no permanent control and seem to have left little impress upon the people.

¹ "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iii., ch. xxxi., p. 307 *sq.*

But at length, in 409 A.D., to quote the same historian :

“The consciousness of guilt and the thirst of rapine prompted the mercenary [Roman] guards of the Pyrenees to desert their station ; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani ; and to swell the torrent which was poured with irresistible violence from the frontiers of Gaul to the sea of Africa. The misfortunes of Spain may be described in the language of its most eloquent historian. . . . ‘ The irruption of these nations was followed by the most dreadful calamities ; as the Barbarians exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans and the Spaniards, and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. The progress of famine reduced the miserable inhabitants to feed on the flesh of their fellow creatures ; and even the wild beasts, who multiplied without control in the desert, were exasperated by the taste of blood and the impatience of hunger boldly to attack and devour their human prey. Pestilence soon appeared, the inseparable companion of famine ; a large proportion of the people was swept away, and the groans of the dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends. At length the Barbarians, satiated with carnage and rapine and afflicted by the contagious evils which they themselves had introduced, fixed their permanent seats in the depopulated country. . . . The conquerors contracted with their new subjects some reciprocal engagements of protection and obedience ; the lands were again cultivated, and the towns and villages were again occupied by a captive people. The greatest part of the Spaniards was even disposed to prefer this new condition of poverty and barbarism to the severe oppressions of the Roman government ; yet there were many who still asserted their native freedom, and who refused, more especially in the mountains of Galicia, to submit to the Barbarian yoke.’ ”

These ferocious conquerors were in their turn subdued by the Visigoths, who, under the lead of their chieftain Walia, subjugated Spain, holding it at first as nominally subject to Rome, but in a short time as an independent kingdom. Their dominion lasted for three centuries, or until the Mohammedan conquest.

The Goths gave to Spain a code of laws based largely upon the Theodosian code of Rome, so that the Roman law became virtually that of Spain. The original conquerors had been Arians, but under King Recared (586-589) they embraced the orthodox or Catholic faith. Recared has been styled "the first Catholic king of Spain." "All the books of the Arian theology were reduced to ashes, with the building in which they were purposely collected." The opposition to the change was put down by force of arms and severely punished as rebellion, and the whole nation was compelled to abandon the Arian for the Catholic faith. In this period we thus find the beginning of that theological intolerance which has ever since been the especial characteristic of Spain.

This intolerant spirit soon turned to the persecution of the Jews.

"That exiled nation had founded some synagogs in the cities of Gaul; but Spain, since the time of Hadrian,

was filled with their numerous colonies. The wealth which they accumulated by trade and the management of the finances invited the pious avarice of their masters; and they might be oppressed without danger, as they had lost the use and even the remembrance of arms. Sisebut, a Gothic king, who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, proceeded at once to the last extremes of persecution. Ninety thousand Jews were compelled to receive the sacrament of baptism; the fortunes of the obstinate infidels were confiscated; their bodies were tortured. . . . The excessive zeal of the Catholic king was moderated even by the clergy of Spain." ¹

This, it will be noted, was more than eight hundred years before the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition under Ferdinand and Isabella. But the spirit of the Inquisition was already rife.

In that early day, as always, the outward conformity secured by persecution was attended by national decline and decay. By the opening of the eighth century the Visigoths of Spain had lost all resemblance to the martial hosts that had hewn their way from the frozen north through the wall of the Roman legions, occupied the fairest provinces of the empire, twice sacked the Eternal City, and carried their conquering arms to the Atlantic Ocean and the Pillars of Hercules.

¹ Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iii., ch. xxvii., p. 363.

The Mohammedan Arabs, or Saracens, who had conquered the whole northern shore of Africa, at length, in 711, with an army of 5,000 men, crossed over to Spain, under the command of Tarik, whose memory is still preserved in the name of their landing-place, Gibraltar (*Gebel al Tarik*), the mountain of Tarik. They were met by Roderic, the king of the Goths, at the head of an army of nearly 100,000 men. The army of Tarik had been reinforced so that it numbered 12,000. By the stream of the Guadalete, near Xeres, a town in the neighborhood of Cadiz, the armies contended for four days in sanguinary battle. The decline of the martial prowess of the Visigoths is well illustrated by the description of the state in which their king, Roderic, went to battle :

“Alaric would have blushed at the sight of his unworthy successor, sustaining on his head a diadem of pearls, encumbered with a flowing robe of gold and silken embroidery, and reclining on a litter or car of ivory drawn by two white mules.”¹

Over the army thus ignobly led the stubborn valor of the Saracens gained a victory such as the Spanish troops of Cortes and Pizarro afterward won over the multitudinous and disorderly native armies of Mexico and Peru. King Roderic, who fled in terror from the field, was drowned in the

¹ Gibbon, vol. v., ch. li., p. 252.

attempt to cross a swollen stream in his precipitate flight.

The immediate reinforcement of the victors and their rapid advance enabled them in a few months to overrun, and within four years effectually to subjugate, the kingdom, with the exception of the mountainous regions of the north. Of the conduct of the conquerors, the historian already quoted says: ¹

“In this revolution many partial calamities were inflicted by the carnal or religious passions of the enthusiasts: . . . Yet if we compare the invasion of Spain by the Goths, or its recovery by the kings of Castile and Aragon, we must applaud the moderation and discipline of the Arabian conquerors.”

Under their rule, the Christians were protected in the free exercise of their own religion, agriculture flourished, and the kingdom enjoyed a high degree of prosperity.

The elements of which the future Spanish nation was to be composed, or by which it was to be molded, were now all assembled within the peninsula. These elements had been drawn from almost all lands of the earth, and, however pure certain noble families may have kept their line of descent, it is impossible to suppose that there was not among the common people a large infusion of the blood of the conquerors whose suc-

¹ Gibbon, vol. v., ch. li., p. 259.

cessive periods of dominion extended over centuries. To this day the characteristics of one or other of the conquering races may be observed in the differences of type and speech that distinguish the people of the different provinces of Spain from one another, while the race and nation yet possess a substantial unity. It would be expected that such a mingling of races would produce a powerful, enterprising, and conquering people; and such was the Spanish nation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

II

RISE OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY

Withdrawal of the Visigoths to Mountain Fastnesses—Mode of Life of the Wandering and Plundering Barons—The Character Developed—Conflicts of Spanish Nobles with One Another—Dissensions among the Saracens—Division of the Peninsula—Navarre—Castile—Character of John II.—Treacherous Arrest and Execution of Alvaro de Luna—Aragon—Character of John II. of Aragon—Treacherous Arrest of His Son, Don Carlos—Rescue and Death of Don Carlos—Blanche of Aragon Surrendered to and Poisoned by Her Sister—Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella—The Archbishop of Toledo Forges a Papal Bull of Permission—Union of the Kingdoms—Disorderly State of the Nation—Isabella's Circuits of Justice—Ferdinand's Crafty and Summary Execution at Saragossa—Chief Events of the Reign.

AFTER the conquest of Spain by the Saracens, while many of the conquered Visigoths doubtless remained among their conquerors, accepting the favorable terms of submission, the more martial and resolute of the conquered people took refuge among the mountains of the north, where the rugged region was at once easily defensible by the inhabitants and uninviting to an enemy satiated

with conquest. In the life of hardship to which they were now exposed, the martial virtues of their ancestors revived. Every spot of vantage was fortified. Almost every height and cliff, however seemingly inaccessible, was crowned with its castle. The very name of one province, *Castile*, is derived from these fortresses; it was the region of frontier castles. As the land thus held was comparatively unproductive, forays upon the possession of "the infidel" became a military necessity, as well as a patriotic and religious duty. These centuries of armed forays seem to have given a permanent bias to the Spanish character, and even to have wrought an incurable perversion of intellect. As during all that long period of life-and-death struggle against the Moslem, the shortest and easiest way to get whatever was needed in those rock-built castles was to go to some one who had it and take it by the sword, the Spaniard came to the unalterable conviction that the only path to wealth and prosperity is to find some one who possesses the wealth, and take it from him by force. In every conquest and every colony for centuries, this spirit of spoliation has been the dominant impulse of the Spanish race. They have seemed unable to conceive of any advantage to be gained from territorial acquisition, except the riches that could be actually

seized and carried away by the strong hand from a conquered or subject race. Spain has gone into every land on which she has set foot, as her barons of the olden time issued from their mountain fastnesses into the domains of the Saracen, to ravage, plunder, and despoil.

In the same early period was developed, also, that policy of retreating before an invader, and then turning upon and attacking him as he retired, which has made Spain, as Macaulay has said, "the easiest of all lands to overrun, and the hardest to conquer." To this prolonged struggle against the Saracen may be traced yet another principle often to be seen in the dealings of Spaniards with their enemies, viz.: that the strongest fortification is a desert. When hard pressed by the enemy, the early Spaniards would turn their whole frontier into a desolation, and retire to inaccessible fastnesses, which no invader could live to reach across the waste.

The effect of this period of struggle on the character and institutions of the nation is best given in the admirable summary of Prescott:¹

"The monarch, once master of the whole Peninsula, now beheld his empire contracted to a few barren, inhospitable rocks. The noble, instead of the broad lands and thronged

¹"History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," Int. vol. i., pp. xxxvi-xl.

halls of his ancestors, saw himself at best but the chief of some wandering horde, seeking a doubtful subsistence, like himself, by rapine. The peasantry, indeed, may be said to have gained by the exchange; and in a situation in which all factitious distinctions were of less worth than individual prowess and efficiency, they rose in political consequence. . . .

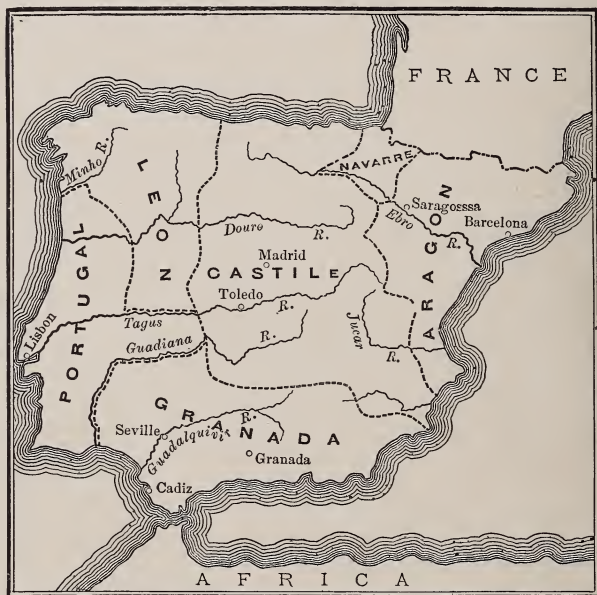
"A sensible and salutary influence, at the same time, was exerted on the moral energies of the nation, which had been corrupted in the long enjoyment of uninterrupted prosperity. . . . Whatever may have been the vices of the Spaniards, they can not have been those of effeminate sloth. Thus a sober, hardy, and independent race was gradually formed, prepared to assert their ancient inheritance, and to lay the foundations of far more liberal and equitable forms of government than were known to their ancestors."

At the same time, the fierce independence nourished by the necessities of their life made them almost incapable of united action.

"The numerous petty states, which rose from the ruins of the ancient monarchy, seemed to regard each other with even a fiercer hatred than that with which they viewed the enemies of their faith; a circumstance that more than once brought the nation to the verge of ruin. More Christian blood was wasted in these national feuds than in all their encounters with the infidel. The soldiers of Fernan Gonzalez, a chieftain of the tenth century, complained that their master made them lead the life of very devils, keeping them in the harness day and night, in wars, not against the Saracens, but one another."

It is probable that in this state of things they were only enabled to maintain themselves and to advance their conquests by the similar dissen-

sions among their enemies. These were slowly but steadily advanced, till, by the middle of the fifteenth century, all of Spain except the single province of Granada, had been reconquered.



Spain in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries.

Spain at this time was divided between the four kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, Aragon, and Granada. Portugal was already an independent kingdom on the west.

The little kingdom of Navarre, nestled among the Pyrenees, long preserved its independence, as Switzerland has continued to do, partly by the

valor of its inhabitants, but still more by the mutual jealousies of its more powerful neighbors.

Castile, with which Leon was now united, comprising a great part of the vast central plateau of



Spain in the XIVth and first part of the XVth Century.

Spain, had become the chief state of the Peninsula. Numerous and wealthy cities had arisen, and, as they were in constant danger of attack, they were strongly fortified, while at the same time their citizens were trained in arms and became a powerful soldiery, whether for the defence of their own privileges or of the safety of the

kingdom. Their importance as defensive posts against the common enemy, joined with the martial valor of their inhabitants, had secured them great privileges and a large measure of popular freedom. So jealous were they of their rights that for a long period many of the cities allowed no nobleman to hold real estate or to erect any palace or fortress within their limits. Their representatives were the chief power in the Cortes or Castilian parliament, which possessed important prerogatives of legislation, taxation, the conclusion of treaties, and the regulation of appropriations in peace and war, while their consent was required to give each new monarch a valid title to the crown. For their better protection, the cities had formed a confederation known as the *Santa Hermandad*, or Holy Brotherhood, which executed its decrees by an armed force.

At the same time, the Castilian nobility had acquired vast and dangerous power.

"The higher nobility, or *ricos hombres*, were exempted from general taxation, and the occasional attempt to infringe on this privilege in seasons of great public emergency was uniformly repelled by this jealous body. They could not be imprisoned for debt; nor be subjected to torture, so repeatedly sanctioned in other cases by the municipal law of Castile. They had the right of deciding their private feuds by an appeal to arms; a right of which they liberally availed themselves. They also claimed the privilege, when aggrieved, of denaturalizing themselves, or,

in other words, of publicly renouncing their allegiance to their sovereigns, and of enlisting under the banners of his enemy. . . . In virtue of their birth they monopolized all the higher offices of state. . . . Finally, they entered into the royal or privy council, and formed a constituent portion of the national legislature.

"These important prerogatives were of course favorable to the accumulation of great wealth. Their estates were scattered over every part of the kingdom, and, unlike the grandees of Spain at the present day, they resided on them in person, maintaining the state of petty sovereigns. . . .

"These ambitious nobles did not consume their fortunes or their energies in a life of effeminate luxury. From their earliest boyhood, they were accustomed to serve in the ranks against the infidel, and their whole subsequent lives were occupied either with war, or with those martial exercises which reflect the image of it." ¹

Aragon had originally been a mountain province, not unlike Navarre, but by the acquisition of Catalonia and Valencia had become an important maritime power, including rich seaboard cities, and reaching out to foreign conquests, which had brought Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles under the dominion of the prince of Aragon.

The nobility of Aragon possessed powers much like those of Castile, though their smaller number led them more readily to combine for united action. The Cortes possessed greater powers than the corresponding assembly of Castile, and these

¹ Prescott, "Ferdinand and Isabella," Int., pp. lx., lxi.

were sustained by a fierce spirit of independence on the part of the people, who were ever ready to revolt on the first attempt at royal usurpation.

The power and prosperity of the maritime cities are well illustrated by the description of Barcelona:

“By the thirteenth [century], Barcelona had reached a degree of commercial prosperity rivaling that of any of the Italian republics. She divided with them the lucrative commerce with Alexandria; and her port, thronged with foreigners from every nation, became a principal emporium in the Mediterranean for the spices, drugs, perfumes, and other rich commodities of the East, whence they were diffused over the interior of Spain and the European continent. Her consuls, and her commercial factories, were established in every considerable port in the Mediterranean and in the north of Europe. The natural products of her soil, and her various domestic fabrics, supplied her with abundant articles of export. *Fine wool was imported by her in considerable quantities from England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and returned there manufactured into cloth;* an exchange of commodities the reverse of that existing between the two nations at the present day. Barcelona claims the merit of having established the first bank of exchange and deposit in Europe, in 1401; it was devoted to the accommodation of foreigners as well as of her own citizens. . . .

“The wealth which flowed in upon Barcelona, as the result of her activity and enterprise, was evinced by her numerous public works, her docks, arsenal, warehouses, exchange, hospitals, and other constructions of general utility. Strangers who visited Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries expatiate on the magnificence of this city, its commodious private edifices, the cleanliness of its

streets and public squares (a virtue by no means usual in that day), and on the amenity of its gardens and cultivated environs. " ¹

These two powerful kingdoms were united by the marriage, on October 19, 1469, of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile. The story of the betrothal and marriage of the princely lovers reads like a chapter of romance. They came to an inheritance full of care, trouble, and peril. The father of each was named John, and was the second of his name, the one of Aragon, the other of Castile.

John II. of Castile, the father of Isabella, had been under the dominion of an able but cunning and profligate minister, till he came more fully under the dominion of a young and ambitious wife, whom he married late in life, the mother of Isabella. At her instance, the king arrested his minister, Alvaro de Luna, by violation of his own royal safe-conduct, and sent him to execution. The whole reign of this monarch, though a brilliant epoch for Castilian literature, was a time of decline and invasion of popular rights, the representation of the cities in the Cortes being greatly reduced; and also a time of tumult, conspiracy, and insurrection among the nobility, who were in ceaseless contest with the powerful favor-

¹ Prescott, "Ferdinand and Isabella," *Int.*, vol. i., p. cxiv.

ite. John left his throne to his son by a former marriage, Henry the Fourth, a weak, extravagant, vainglorious, and licentious prince, whose court has been described as "little better than a brothel." It is to the everlasting honor of Isabella that, with such an ancestry and such kindred, her own life was so lofty, good, and pure.

John II. of Aragon, the father of Ferdinand, was still living at the time of his son's marriage. He was a sturdy and valiant warrior, but of a disposition at once ferocious and treacherous. He had signalized his reign by "hunting the unhappy heretics of Biscay like wild beasts among the mountains." He is said to have been one of the first of European monarchs to develop and bring into vogue that science of dark intrigue and systematic falsehood which for the next three centuries was called diplomacy. He, too, had married late in life a young and ambitious Castilian princess, through whose influence he was involved in contests with his eldest son, the admired and beloved Don Carlos. After the son had long been virtually banished from the kingdom, his father decoyed him within reach of arrest, and threw him into prison, from which he was only released in consequence of a general rebellion of the people of Aragon, and especially of Barcelona, who rose in arms in behalf of the

prince. Scarcely, however, had his release been secured, when he passed away by a suspicious death. His elder sister, Blanche, who now became heir to the kingdom of Navarre, was torn from her home by her father, and forcibly transported, in spite of her most piteous entreaties, across the border of Aragon, and delivered into the custody of her younger sister, Eleanora, to whom the king had promised the little kingdom on his own decease; and by this sister, to whom she had been delivered by a father, the unhappy princess was poisoned. It was through events such as these that Ferdinand came to the crown.

As the royal families of Castile and Aragon were related by repeated intermarriages, the two John II.'s being own cousins, Ferdinand and Isabella were within "the prohibited degrees," that is, within the limit of consanguinity to which marriage is prohibited by the Roman Catholic Church. This difficulty could only legally be removed by a dispensation from the pope. But as the then reigning pontiff was known to be unfriendly, the archbishop of Toledo simply forged the necessary bull, at the instigation, it is said, of the old king, John II. of Aragon, and with the approval of Ferdinand, though without the privity of Isabella, who was greatly displeased on the discovery of the fraud at a later period. Then,

however, a friendly pope was on the throne, who readily issued a genuine dispensation.

When such was the character of kings and prelates, it is a foregone conclusion that there would be widespread corruption among the nobility, the clergy, and people. The castles had become dens of robbers, and plunder and devastation were carried not only up to, but within the cities themselves. In the contentions of the warring nobles, who sometimes brought thousands of men at once into the field, agriculture perished and trade became ruinously insecure.

"On one occasion the duke of Medina Sidonia mustered an army of twenty thousand men against his antagonist; on another, no less than fifteen hundred houses of the Ponce faction were burnt to the ground in Seville. Such were the potent engines employed by these petty sovereigns in their conflicts with one another, and such the havoc which they brought on the fairest portion of the Peninsula. The husbandman, stripped of his harvest and driven from his fields, abandoned himself to idleness, or sought subsistence by plunder. A scarcity ensued in the years 1472 and 1473, in which the prices of the most necessary commodities rose to such an exorbitant height as to put them beyond the reach of any but the affluent."¹

This lawlessness Isabella suppressed by a circuit throughout her dominions, holding courts of justice, at which she presided in person at least once a week, in each of the principal cities; and

¹ Prescott, "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. 1., ch. iv.

also by organizing the popular league of the Hermandad into an armed national police under the direct control of the sovereign, that repressed disorder with an iron hand. Ferdinand sometimes adopted a course at once more summary and more indirect. Of such proceedings, Prescott gives the following instance in the treatment of a powerful and corrupt demagog of Saragossa, named Ximenes Gordo:

“As Gordo occasionally visited the palace to pay his respects to the prince, the latter *affected to regard him with more than usual favor*, showing him such courtesy as might dissipate any distrust he had conceived of him. Gordo, thus assured, was invited at one of those interviews to withdraw into a retired apartment, where the prince wished to confer with him on business of moment. On entering the chamber he was surprised by the sight of the public executioner, the hangman of the city, whose presence together with that of a priest, and the apparatus of death with which the apartment was garnished, revealed at once the dreadful nature of his destiny.

“He was then charged with the manifold crimes of which he had been guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced on him. In vain did he appeal to Ferdinand, pleading the services which he had rendered on more than one occasion to his father. Ferdinand assured him that these should be gratefully remembered in the protection of his children, and then, bidding him unburden his conscience to his confessor, consigned him to the hand of the executioner. His body was exposed that very day in the market-place of the city, to the dismay of his friends and adherents, most of whom paid the penalty of their crimes in the ordinary course of justice.”

Above all the high personal qualities of Isabella, her genius of administration, and her ceaseless endeavors availed to reconcile the warring nobles to one another, as well as to win the regard and loyalty of all classes of her people. The long War of the Succession against Portugal brought misfortune and desolation in its train, reducing the entire Portuguese frontier to a desolation; yet at its close the general welfare of the kingdom of Castile was on the whole advanced. When, in 1479, the old king of Aragon died, leaving his crown to his son, Castile and Aragon were effectually united in the one kingdom of Spain.

Four great events signalized the united reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, viz.: the establishment of the Inquisition, the conquest of Granada, the discovery of America, and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. The first of these events occurred in 1481, the other three in the historic year 1492.

III

THE INQUISITION

Special Ferocity of the Spanish Tribunal—Early Intolerance of the Spaniards—Effect of the Centuries of War against Mohammedan Invaders—The Tribunal Instituted at Castile—Torquemada made Inquisitor-General—Flight and Recapture of the “New Christians”—Number of Victims in One Year—The Tribunal Resisted in Aragon—The Chief Inquisitor Assassinated and Terribly Avenged—Description of the Inquisition—Arrests—Evidence—Prisons—Torture—The Auto da Fe—Results of the Inquisition in Spain.

THE tribunal of the Inquisition has existed in many Roman Catholic countries, but in Spain it exhibited a peculiar mercilessness, and even ferocity, which have caused the modern tribunal to be popularly known everywhere as “The Spanish Inquisition.” For this sad preeminence of Spain, there were many reasons.

There seems to have been a strong tendency to intolerance among the Spanish people, even as far back as the time of the Roman dominion. Of

this, the historian Gibbon gives the following striking instance:¹

“The councils of Ancyra and Illiberis were held about the same time [about the middle of the fourth century], the one in Galatea, the other in Spain; but their respective canons, which are still extant, seem to breathe a very different spirit. The Galatian, who after his baptism had repeatedly sacrificed to idols, might obtain his pardon by a penance of seven years; and if he had seduced others to imitate his example, only three years more were added to the term of his exile. *But the unhappy Spaniard who had committed the same offense was deprived of the hope of reconciliation even in the article of death;* and his idolatry was placed at the head of a list of seventeen other crimes, against which a sentence no less terrible was pronounced.”

After the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, it could not but be that nearly eight centuries of unremitting warfare against an enemy alien in religion as in race should, in spite of all military and knightly courtesy between the warring nations, give a darker tinge to religious animosity.² Christian against infidel was native against foreigner, European against Asiatic, inhabitants

¹ “Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,” vol. iii., ch. xv., p. 569.

² See Prescott, “Ferdinand and Isabella,” vol. i., ch. vii., p. 235 sq., for account of Jews; and ch. viii. for Spanish Arabs or Moors; also, “Philip II.,” vol. i., p. 447, etc.; and “Conquest of Mexico,” vol. i., p. 269, etc. See also “History of the Inquisition,” by William Harris Rule, D.D., chs. viii.–xv.; “A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages,” by Henry Charles Lea.

against invaders. Catholic and Christian came to mean countryman and patriot. The hostility felt toward Moor and Jew was soon extended to the Spaniard who severed from the national faith. He was looked upon as a traitor; and all the odious force of that word entered into the terms "renegade," "apostate," and "heretic." All these tendencies the Inquisition adopted¹ in the name of that religion where "there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond, nor free." It spent its first fury upon those of Moorish or Jewish extraction, whom the Spaniard could see burned with great complacency.

As a political institution, the Inquisition poured confiscated wealth into the monarch's treasury in partial compensation for the aid of "the secular arm"; and by crushing all ranks of men under the ecclesiastical, it made them more readily submit to the royal despotism. While Isabella struggled long against giving place to the terrible tribunal, and only at last yielded reluctantly to the authority of her revered spiritual advisers, Ferdinand seems from the very beginning to have hailed with delight the prospect of ample confiscations which it opened before him.

¹ "Life of Cardinal Ximenes," by Rev. Dr. von Hefele, pp. 314, 315.

The Spanish Inquisition, formally constituted by papal bull, published its first mandate at Seville, January 2d, 1481. Friar Thomas de Torquemada was made the first Inquisitor-General of Spain. He was a man alert, industrious, resolute, and pitiless—the ideal inquisitor. It has been said of him by one of the calmest and most impartial of judges, that “this man’s zeal was of such an extravagant character that it may almost shelter itself under the name of insanity.”¹

The first victims of the new tribunal were the New Christians, as those Jews were called who who had been compulsorily “converted” at various times, together with their descendants. As the genuineness of such conversions was naturally suspected, the Inquisition set itself to hunt for evidences of apostasy.

The accusations soon became so numerous that the New Christians fled in terror from the city. Then the nobility of the surrounding region were called upon, under the penalty of becoming themselves the victims of the Inquisition, to arrest and return the fugitives. Soon, from every side, miserable processions of those who had but lately been peaceful and prosperous citizens, men and women, young and old, manacled and guarded by

¹ Prescott, “Ferdinand and Isabella,” vol. i., ch. vii., p. 260.

armed men, wended their way back to Seville.¹ The inquisitors proceeded with a dispatch worthy of a better cause.

“On the sixth day of January, six convicts suffered at the stake. Seventeen more were executed in March, and a still greater number in the month following; and by the 4th of November in the same year no less than two hundred and ninety-eight individuals had been sacrificed in the *autos da fé* of Seville. Besides these, the mouldering remains of many, who had been tried and convicted after their death, were torn up from their graves, with a hyena-like ferocity, which has disgraced no other court, Christian or Pagan, and condemned to the common funeral pile. This was prepared on a spacious stone scaffold, erected in the suburbs of the city, with the statues of four prophets attached to the corners, to which the unhappy sufferers were bound for the sacrifice, and which the worthy curate of Los Palacios celebrates with much complacency as the spot ‘where heretics were burnt, and ought to burn as long as any can be found.’”

In Aragon, the liberty-loving inhabitants resisted the Inquisition with their customary readiness for rebellion. After vain protests to the crown against the new tribunal, the chief inquisitor, Arbues, was assassinated as he knelt before the great altar in the cathedral of Saragossa, September 14, 1485. The result, as usual in such cases, was only to rivet the oppression more firmly, and make its severities more sweeping and terrible.

¹ Rule, “History of the Inquisition,” vol. i., ch. viii., p. 131.

"In the course of this persecution, *two hundred individuals* perished at the stake, and a still greater number in the dungeons of the Inquisition; and there was scarcely a noble family in Aragon but witnessed one or more of its members condemned to humiliating penance in the *autos da fé*. The immediate perpetrators of the murder were all hanged, after suffering the amputation of their right hands. One, who had appeared as evidence against the rest, under assurance of pardon, had his sentence so far commuted, that his hand was not cut off till after he had been hanged. It was thus that the Holy Office interpreted its promises of grace." ¹

Attempts at resistance in other provinces of Aragon were put down by Ferdinand with the iron hand of military power.

What, then, was that Inquisition, which a whole kingdom thus feared and resisted?

In the days of its glory, a familiar, or special officer, of the same rank with the accused, would appear suddenly before him, perhaps just as he was on the point of entering his own door, and, with mute gesture or brief phrase, make known to him that he was summoned by the Holy Office, then turn and walk away, and the person summoned, as if under an enchanter's spell, followed close in his steps, without reply or question, without so much delay as would admit of change of raiment or farewell word, and vanished from the world of the living, as if the earth had swallowed him up.

¹ Prescott, "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i., ch. xiii.

The name and testimony of every witness were kept secret from every other witness and from the accused. The charge on which he was arraigned was kept secret from the accused. The trial was conducted in absolute secrecy, none being present except the inquisitor or inquisitors, the person on trial, and the notary who wrote down every word. The prisons were secret prisons in the strictest sense. No friend, however near, husband, wife, parent, child might see the prisoner for one single instant. The arrangements were such that no one could obtain the least glimpse outside his cell to know whose garments brushed against the door. Should a word be spoken audible without, the speaker was liable to be beaten like a dog by the staff of the warders, who patrolled the corridors day and night; so that, ordinarily, a silence like that of the grave reigned throughout the place. No book, pen, nor anything that could possibly be used as writing-material, was allowed in any cell. Thus, when whole families were at once incarcerated, the place and fate of each was hidden from all the rest, unless possibly several met on the day of final sentence. The whole process of the trial, involving life, and much that is dearer than life, was kept secret from the prisoner himself. He knew not what opinion had been passed on his

previous confessions or denials. Sometimes he was told he "had not confessed all," and sent back, perhaps to remember, perhaps to invent something for a fresh audience, to come he knew not when. Sometimes a list was read to him of things considered "proved," which he must confess or be put to "the question by torment." After such monition, and after the "torment," if it came, he was remanded to solitude and silence again. If at last released, he was bound by most solemn oath never to reveal any thing he had heard or seen during his imprisonment—an oath few would dare to break who had experienced such captivity, and knew how much more it was possible to suffer. If condemned, the sentence was kept secret from the victim, till the evening before he was to die; and when brought out in the awful procession, if he showed any disposition to speak, the gag closed his lips till they were more securely sealed in death. Thus inviolate was kept the secret of the Inquisition.

The effect of this, it at once appears, was to render the judges practically irresponsible. They might arrest whom they pleased, and all they arrested were absolutely at their mercy. We read of the right of appeal to Rome, but from those secret prisons no appeal was possible, *unless accepted and forwarded by the inquisitor himself.*

If, indeed, there were friends without, brave enough and powerful enough, they might make themselves heard in that far-off court; but it must be without knowledge of accusation or evidence, a mere personal plea for mercy.

The method by which the Inquisition obtained its evidence is the most marvelous and complete ever devised by man. In the first place, every Roman Catholic was under obligation to report instantly to the authorities whatever came to his knowledge, that "seemed contrary to the faith." In public and in private was continually urged the duty of servant and master, brother and sister, parent and child, husband and wife, to give information each against the other. Every one must visit the confessional at least three times a year, or be liable to arrest on suspicion of heresy. In that place, so solemn to every devout believer, he would be so narrowly questioned that he could not withhold information except by a lie, as it were, in the very presence of God. Not only the strain of conscience, but the personal risk would be very great; for the one implicated might inform against himself, and, by the strange metamorphosis of inquisitorial trials, be made a witness against his silent friend.¹ Thus the last

¹ "Critical History of the Inquisition," by Juan Antonio Llorente, ch. xi., p. 106. [Llorente was secretary of the

bond of honor was snapped. Every one had need to beware of the stranger who walked or rode beside him, of the workmen in his shop, the servants in his house, of his nearest and dearest, who sat at his table or shared his rest.

It need only be added that against a heretic the evidence of any and all persons was valid, though they were excommunicated by the Church or convicted of the blackest crimes known to civil law.

The penalties of the Inquisition were confiscation, penance, imprisonment, infamy, and death. From the moment of arrest all the property of the accused was attached in the name of the Inquisition. There seems reason to believe that it was rarely restored. Few came forth without so much stigma of heresy as would justify, according to the inquisitorial law, the final confiscation of their goods. The released were not apt to enter into a quarrel for property with that power from whose grasp they were, and would still be, glad to escape with life.

Torture, of which so much has been written, was not inflicted as a penalty, but simply as a means of obtaining evidence. The whole process was often called simply "the question." Intoler-
tribunal of Madrid, from 1790 to 1792, and had access to the official records.]

able agony, under which one might happen to die, was but a casual incident of inquisitorial trials. It is said to have been in use at the same time in the civil courts throughout Europe, but that is surely no defense of the Inquisition. That tribunal was expressly constituted for affairs of religion. We should have expected such an institution to go out into the civil courts and stay the horrors enacted there;¹ but, instead, it carried them within its own stately halls, and made them there more systematic and terrible.

Of imprisonment there were various gradations. At one extreme was the indulgence sometimes shown perpetual prisoners, of confinement in convents, or in comfortable cells, where they might work at some calling, and see friends under certain restrictions. At the other extreme was the dungeon, where to exist was but to prolong and multiply the death agony. There was the service of the galleys, where men of wealth, learning, and honor, mingled with the lowest criminals, were chained to the oar, and toiled under the lash, or labored, half-fettered, in the docks and ship-yards.

“Every man, of whatever estate, loses all office,

¹ The church had actually made such protests, as early as the twelfth century; see Lea, “History of the Inquisition,” vol. i., ch. viii., pp. 391-393.

benefice, right, and dignity as soon as he incurs inquisitorial punishment"—so read the law.¹ Nor, if his sentence was one that he could survive, could he afterward receive any such office, except by special dispensation of the pope. It was further provided that the children and children's children of a condemned heretic could hold no office of honor or profit, nor wear silk, fine wool, gold, or other costly adornments²—so substantial was the significance of the word "infamy," besides the deep public abhorrence that visited the sufferer and his kindred, and was carefully fostered as a most important means of punishment. Few are the souls mighty enough to rise without the sense of shame above inflictions which are generally viewed as shameful; and around its every punishment the Inquisition was careful to array humiliating circumstances.

Cases were not disposed of singly as they arose, but many reserved for one great day, a Sabbath, or a Church festival. At some central point, a spacious wooden amphitheater was built, in whose high galleries was room for all, with special accommodations for the dignitaries of church and state; while in the center—as of old the gladia-

¹ Eymeric, "Directory of Inquisitors," quoted by Rule, i., 99 sq.

² Llorente, p. 49.

tors in the arena—the victims were exposed to the gaze of all. Notice previously given in all the churches of the province would bring together a vast throng of spectators from far and near.

At early dawn the great bell of the cathedral begins to toll, and soon the whole city is astir. Ere the morning is far advanced, the gates of the inquisitorial palace are thrown open, and a showy procession issues forth. Lancers clear the way before a splendid cavalcade, where ride the chiefs of the Inquisition, attended by armed familiars, in whose ranks are some of the highest nobles of the land, overshadowed by the banners of the pope and of the king. Then, after an interval, come the Dominican friars, a dense mass of black-robed men. Sweet, sad strains of music float out upon the air, and in the steps of the friars follow singing boys, chanting a litany—white-robed youth, beauty, and innocence, a fringe of light on the thunder-cloud. Above them waves the great standard of the Inquisition, whose emblems are a green cross on a black ground, with an olive-branch on one side and a sword on the other; and the motto, *Exurge, Domine, et Judica Causam Tuam*—"Arise, O Lord, and Judge Thy Cause!" After the banner walk the penitents; those guilty of lighter offenses clad in a coarse, scanty suit of black, heads and beards close shaven and feet

bare; those who have much forgiven as the Inquisition forgives, with their heads thrust through the opening of a coarse yellow sack, which falls down over the shoulders and arms, and displays on the front a red St. Andrew's cross. This robe bears the name of San Benito, and once to wear it is degradation without remedy. On every face are the pallor of long imprisonment, and the marks of anguish of body and mind, or the deep apathy of broken spirit and enfeebled intellect. Raised aloft and leaning toward them, in sign of pity, a crucifix is borne, and following that symbol the condemned advance. To them is presented only an averted crucifix, because they may no longer hope for pardon. The penitents are securely guarded, but each of the condemned is attended by two armed familiars and two monks. These, all through the night, have been urging the doomed one to repent, and be reconciled to the Church that slays him, and still they wait upon his every step. Each of the unfortunates is covered with the San Benito, greatly changed, however, from that the penitents wear. It is now called *zamarra*, and painted over with flames and devils, and a rude portrait of the wearer, a head laid upon burning brands. Each wears, too, a conical paper cap called *coroza* (the mockery of a crown), also figured over with devils and

flames. The aspect of humanity almost obliterated, there is less fear that a throb of pity will waken in any heart. The coarse mob see only objects of derision. The noble, the valiant, the eloquent, the devout, the beautiful, the idols of happy homes, have come now to this! Their number at any one time may seem small—fourteen, sixteen, twenty-one—not many among all these thousands; but over that little band how many hearts are aching. But no boisterous grief of friends mars the pomp of slaughter. That would be but to die without saving the one lamented. Nor do any attempt to break those ranks of armed men, and rescue those they guard, for the whole population is disarmed, no one of any rank, not in the service of the Inquisition, being permitted to bear any weapon till this day is done. In solemn silence, or amid rude applause and mirth, the procession moves on. Close behind the condemned, borne on the shoulders of strong men, appear the effigies, wooden figures representing heretics who have died or fled, each effigy wearing the *zamarra* and *coroza*. Then porters come toiling on, carrying boxes in which are the mortal remains of those who have been dead for months or years. They died, perhaps, in the sacraments and with the blessing of the Church; but now it is discovered that they were

secretly heretics. Like a thunderbolt the sentence has fallen upon prosperous families, despoiling them of their ancestral estates, and of all office and honor, and sending them out beggars into the world, to be themselves evermore objects of especial suspicion to the Holy Office. Next the civic authorities of every rank lend their presence and sanction, while the clergy not elsewhere assigned, priests and monks in long array, close the procession.

When all are gathered in order within the amphitheater, the chief inquisitor administers to the magistrates, then to the people, the oath to obey and support the Inquisition. A sermon in defense of the tribunal follows, then the reading of the sentences. Each prisoner, wearing the shameful livery already described, is led to a prominent station, and there, in view of the assembled thousands, hears his misdeeds recited with pompous roll of words, ending in fearfully precise denunciation of penalty; this, hour after hour, the process being lengthened out by many ceremonies. But to those who walked behind the averted crucifix, and who have abandoned all hope of mercy, the words which follow the story of their offenses are of almost parental tenderness: "We leave you to the secular judges, whom we efficaciously beseech so to moderate their sentence that no shed-

ding of blood or peril of death may follow"; or, "Thou art to be given over to the secular court and judgment; and we hereby leave thee to that court, *affectionately praying the same*, as the canonical sanctions advise, *to preserve thy life and limb unhurt.*"

How gentle now the terrible tribunal! Surely such requests must be obeyed, for what magistrate will dare do otherwise? What, then, mean those strangely emblazoned garments which were put on in the house of the Inquisition, the double guards, and the beseeching monks? The next act in the drama will tell. As the multitude pours out of the theater, in the lengthening shadows of evening, still another procession forms. No splendor nor dignity now! Civil officers drag off these unfortunates thus tenderly committed to their charge. Behind them follows a mingled crowd—priest and monk and magistrate and noble with solemn mien, and the lowest of the people with gibes and brutal yells. Soon they reach a singular structure. It is a platform of masonry sixty feet square and seven feet high,¹ with a flight of steps seven feet wide. Such a structure stands at each inquisitorial center, and bears the name of *Quemadero*. There is set a stake for each prisoner by actual count. There

¹ As at Festive Auto-at Madrid in 1680. Rule, i., 296.

are piled fagots for the work of death. But what are those monks who still cling to the unfortunates, so eagerly promising now? If they now confess and accept "the Catholic faith"—they shall live! By no means! They shall be strangled!

This is mercy to the body, which it saves from the lingering torment of the flames; to the soul, which, by passing away "in the Catholic faith," escapes everlasting perdition. We are amazed at the mastery attained by the Inquisition over the human mind. It has stripped its victims of fortune, office, and honor; it has imprisoned and tortured them; it has loaded their names with obloquy, which shall be an inheritance to their children's children, and now it has given them over to certain death; yet still its tender mercy waits, with torch in one hand and cord in the other beside the stake, imploring to be allowed to kill summarily those whom it will else be compelled still further to torment.

We are told that most accepted the offer, and that the "obstinate and impenitent heretics" actually burnt alive were comparatively few.¹ This seems very probable. Cowed by long imprisonment, with accumulated humiliations and mis-

¹ Lea, "History of the Inquisition," vol. i., ch. xiv., p. 550.

eries, suddenly confronted with the sentence of death, and from that time beset with this one entreaty—allowed not one moment for calm thought or uninterrupted prayer, brought face to face with that from which the flesh shrank with an awful dread, worn with the strain of woful night and dreary day, surrounded by pitiless officers and a jeering mob, seemingly forsaken of God and man, it would be a strong mind as well as a true heart that would not sink into a lethargy of despair, and accept even such poor alleviation of inevitable doom. Yet there were those who could triumph over all; and some of the noblest examples of martyrdom, sturdy manliness and womanly fortitude, made by heavenly faith at once gentle and sublime, light up these gloomy annals.

When, at length, all the work of death was done, men employed for the purpose kept up the fire through the night, and, by morning, only an even surface of blackened ashes appealed to heaven. But the Inquisition was not yet content. The frightful *zamarras* were saved from the funeral pyre, and, each labeled with the name, date, and offense of the condemned hung up as illustrious trophies in the churches of the Dominicans. So ended the *Auto da Fé*, the great, triumphal pageant of the Inquisition.

Llorente states the number of victims during the eighteen years of Torquemada's rule as 10,220 burnt, 6,860 condemned and burnt in effigy as absent or dead, and 97,321 "reconciled," that is, subjected to penalties less than that of death. "In this enormous sum of human misery," says Prescott, "is not included the multitude of orphans, who, from the confiscation of their paternal inheritance, were turned over to indigence and vice." While the accuracy of Llorente has been fiercely challenged, yet after all possible deductions, it remains certain that an appalling aggregate of suffering and oppression was inflicted by the Inquisition upon unhappy Spain. But even more serious than the immediate wo and horror were the permanent results.

The tendency to intolerance, which time might have softened, was crystallized by the Inquisition, and deeply ingrained into the Spanish character. The chivalrous consideration for the Moslem enemies, of which so many examples were seen at and before the conquest of Granada, utterly disappeared within half a century.

By making terrible suffering an enjoyable spectacle, which no one must fail to attend, and at which no one, on peril of his life, must manifest a thrill of pity, the Inquisition trained a nation to delight in cruelty for its own sake, and did

much to perpetuate that ferocious spirit that makes Spanish women of to-day crowd in among shouting and delighted thousands to watch the bloody butchery of the bull-fight. Coming, as it did, just before the discovery of America, this training of the Inquisition aggravated that tendency to inhumanity which so commonly characterizes civilized men in their dealings with savages. Unpardonable cruelties have been thus inflicted by many nations. English and Americans have made a record to sadden the heart of humanity in their dealings with the Indians of the East and of the West. But no nation has a story of such desolating, pitiless, exterminating barbarity as that of the Spanish conquests in America.¹ The Spaniard who had seen the noble, cultured, and revered of his own land, honored men and delicate women, the youthful and the aged, led out in shameful garb to be burnt to death in the face of day, and all under the awful sanctions of religion, and in the august presence of monarchs and princes — that man could not feel much compassion for the agonies of poor, ignorant, heathen savages, every one of whom he was taught to believe richly merited the terrors of the *auto da fé*. Hence the change that came over the Spanish troops of the sixteenth

¹ See ch. viii.

century. They were no longer the chivalrous knights who had achieved the conquest of Granada or followed the banner of the Great Captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, on the fields of Italy. They kept incomparable valor and prowess, but they joined with it a frantic ferocity against the unarmed and unresisting, such as has never been paralleled by any other race of civilized men.

Intellectually and morally, the Inquisition stopped Spain in the Middle Ages. The only safe opinion was an opinion which had proved its orthodoxy by the fact that no one had ever been burnt for it. Thus the march of modern thought went by, and left Spain, as she stands to-day, a hopelessly mediæval power amid the advance of modern civilization.

The Inquisition cost Spain the Netherlands; those provinces had born the grinding tyranny of Charles V.; but the one thing to which they would not submit was the Inquisition. That was so bad, that nothing could be worse. The starving soldier could see the wan face of his wife, and hear the cry of his little ones for bread, and stand like a man of iron on the rampart, saying, "The Inquisition is worse than this." The inhabitants could break down their dikes and welcome the ocean back to his old domain; they could raise a new army when scarce a man

lived to tell of the slaughter of the last, rather than submit to the secret dungeon, the rack, and the fire for conscience' sake. Beside the banner of Spain, they saw always advancing the shadowy standard of the Inquisition; and, rather than that tribunal should be set up in their land, they would leave it no house to meet in, no land to build upon, and no inhabitants to persecute.¹ Those whom oppression, or the fear of it, has made so utterly desperate may be destroyed, but not subdued. On the blood-soaked soil of little Holland, the once invincible Spanish legions were wearied out, and at last broken in battle by a people who knew how to die. When, at length, the flag of England waved unassailable on the height of Gibraltar, and English colonies beyond the sea were springing into a nation where the Inquisition had never set foot, the most bigoted persecutor recognized the necessity of that toleration which had become an accomplished fact.

¹ Witness the defense of Ostend; Motley, "United Netherlands," vol. iv., ch. xliii., page 213 sq.: "A council of all officers decided that Ostend must be abandoned, *now that Ostend had ceased to exist*. . . . It was all loathsome, hideous rubbish. There were no human habitations, no hovels, no casemates. . . . In every direction the dikes had burst, and the sullen wash of the liberated waves . . . sounded far and wide over what should have been dry land." Only two disreputable camp-followers awaited the coming of the Spaniards.

The year of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown witnessed the offering of the last human sacrifice to the insatiable Moloch of the Inquisition in Spain. It was the year 1781—just three hundred years from the publication of its first mandate at Seville.

The great experiment of compulsion in religion has been tried on the grandest scale, and tried in vain. The world has swept by the Inquisition and left it a wreck on the receding shore, stretching out its spectral arms in everlasting warning. Spain, however, has never recovered from the far-reaching and wasting effects of the system fastened upon her by her own monarchs in the early days so full of glory and of a promise never to be fulfilled.

IV

THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA

Character and Achievements of the Spanish Arabs—Their Architecture, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce—Their Scholarly Attainments and Renowned Universities—Freedom and Education of Women—Knightly Courtesy—Spanish Valor and Prowess—Unification of the Nation as the Result of the War of Granada—Description of Granada and the Vega—Merciless Ravages of the Spaniards—Cruelties to the Conquered—The Whole Population of Malaga Consigned to Slavery—The Spanish System of Armed Occupation.

THE Spanish Arabs, known also as Saracens and Moors, bore little resemblance to the Turks, from whom our ideas of Mohammedan nations are chiefly derived.

Their story reads like a dream. Crossing from Africa, conquering the great and rich Peninsula with unexpected ease and suddenness, debarred from farther progress in western Europe by the memorable defeat at Tours, and driven back upon their original conquest, they set themselves to make the Iberian Peninsula a new Orient, at once

a home and a treasure-house. Palatial cities rose under their hand. Aqueducts, rivaling those of the Roman Campagna, brought the streams from the mountains to city and field. Great districts, naturally sunburnt and barren, were made by skilful irrigation to blossom into wonderful fertility. The Arabs loved to surround their houses with trees and gardens, and at once to beautify them and to cool them in summer heats by the splash and spray of fountains.

As agriculturists, they won deserved renown. They introduced the cultivation of sugar, and prosecuted it so successfully as not only to supply their own wants, but to make it a chief article of export. They produced and manufactured silk in great quantities, and also fine fabrics of cotton and wool, in all of which they carried on a profitable commerce. They forced the mines of Spain to yield them their wealth of precious and baser metals, as the Romans in earlier days had done. Under their rule, Spain was a rich, a prosperous, and, to a great degree, a happy land. The ample revenue of their monarchs enabled them to undertake and complete works of regal splendor, of which the admired Alhambra and the mosque—now the cathedral—of Cordova, with its thousand pillars of variegated marble yet remaining after the desolations of centuries, are striking examples.

Nor was their success only in the line of material comfort and splendor. At the time when the rest of Europe was sunk in the intellectual night of the Dark Ages, Arabian scholars were reading and annotating Aristotle. In mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, and medical science they had made great advances. Though their astronomy was vitiated with astrology, and their chemistry with alchemy, and their medical science was empirical, they were far in advance of most of the nations of their day, and introduced into Europe many valuable remedies before unknown. Their universities were of such celebrity that students from all Christian lands eagerly repaired to them. In poetry and elegant literature, they attained no inconsiderable success.

Evidence of a high degree of civilization is afforded by the fact that their women were not condemned to Oriental seclusion, but, as shown by the evidence of ballad, legend, and painting, mingled freely in the pursuits of life, as in Christian lands. Women of the highest rank devoted themselves to letters and "contended, publicly, for the prizes, not merely in eloquence and poetry, but in those recondite studies which have generally been reserved for the other sex."¹

¹ Prescott, "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i., ch. viii., p. 215.

Another proof of advanced civilization is found in the martial courtesies freely interchanged between the Saracens and their Christian opponents. Even in warfare, there were many gallant deeds of mutual knightly consideration, and in the intervals of peace Christian and Mohammedan knights met as equals in the tournament, observing toward each other all chivalrous consideration, faith, and honor.

They had shown a spirit of religious toleration remarkable for any people in that age. At their original conquest of Spain, they allowed all the conquered people who chose to do so to continue to reside in their own cities or provinces. While some Christian churches were converted into mosques, a considerable number were left to the Christian congregations, which were everywhere allowed the undisturbed practice of their own religion. Though the rule of the conquerors became more severe as their conquests became more assured, yet even the Spanish chroniclers of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella do not allege against the Saracens bigotry and persecution.

From a military point of view, the results of the war of Granada were glorious. It united the mutually jealous and hostile nobles, and fused into one the people of the once disintegrated provinces. The Spaniards went into the war an ill-

restrained mob of contending nobles and factious retainers, and came out a nation, with a united and disciplined army destined to be the mightiest military force of Europe for nearly a hundred years. Deeds of valor were done both by Spaniard and Saracen, that stir the heart like the deeds of Greeks and Trojans in Homer's epic. In personal intrepidity, indeed, the Spaniards have perhaps never been surpassed, uniting as they did in their best days the fiery valor of the French with the stubborn sturdiness of the Saxon. The Spaniard of to-day can not fail in soldierly courage, unless he shall be found to have degenerated from a brave and valiant ancestry, which lacked only the touch of a true humanity to be heroic.

But the world is coming to see that mere martial prowess is the least part of the glory of nations. The question now is, not how did men fight, but what did they fight for, and what results did they wring from the desolation and wo of war?

That the Spanish sovereigns should have desired to bring the whole Peninsula under their dominion, and to free it from the domination of an alien race and a hostile religion, is not surprising. Undoubtedly the Arabs had considerably declined from the high attainments of earlier

days. Still, it is matter of unceasing wonder that the Spaniards should have seen nothing better to do with all the achievements of such a race as they encountered than to batter down, plunder, and despoil—nothing better to do with such a people than to turn them into homeless, wandering, and cowering dependents and vassals, unable to maintain their ancient industry and prosperity, which their ruthless conquerors were themselves impotent to reproduce. The Spaniards treated Spain itself as a conquered and hostile realm, in which they were only to maintain an armed encampment, with no thought of those enduring sources of prosperity and power for which each nation must depend upon a wise development of the resources of that home-land which is its own inheritance, and the neglect of which is the sure path to decay and extinction.

In the fascinating pages of Irving¹ we find the following description of Granada:

“This renowned kingdom, situated in the southern part of Spain, and washed on one side by the Mediterranean Sea, was traversed in every direction by sierras, or chains of lofty and rugged mountains, naked, rocky, and precipitous, rendering it almost impregnable, but locking up within their sterile embraces deep, rich, and verdant valleys of prodigal fertility.

“In the center of the kingdom lay its capital, the beau-

¹ “Chronicles of the Conquest of Granada,” ch. i., pp. 3-5.

tiful city of Granada, sheltered, as it were, in the lap of the Sierra Nevada, or Snowy Mountains. Its houses, seventy thousand in number, covered two lofty hills with their declivities, and a deep valley between them, through which flowed the Darro. The streets were narrow, as is usual in Moorish and Arab cities, but there were occasionally small squares and open places. The houses had gardens and interior courts, set out with orange, citron, and pomegranate trees, and refreshed by fountains, so that, as the edifices ranged above each other up the sides of the hills, they presented a delightful appearance of mingled grove and city. One of the hills was surmounted by the Alcazaba, a strong fortress, commanding all that part of the city; the other by the Alhambra, a royal palace and warrior castle, capable of containing within its alcazar and towers a garrison of forty thousand men; but possessing also its harem, the voluptuous abode of the Moorish monarchs, laid out with courts and gardens, fountains, and baths, and stately halls, decorated in the most costly style of Oriental luxury. . . . Such was its lavish splendor that, even at the present day, the stranger, wandering through its silent courts and deserted halls, gazes with astonishment at gilded ceilings and fretted domes, the brilliancy and beauty of which have survived the vicissitudes of war and the silent dilapidation of ages.

"The city was surrounded by high walls, three leagues in circuit, furnished with twelve gates, and a thousand and thirty towers. Its elevation above the sea, and the neighborhood of the Sierra Nevada, crowned with perpetual snows, tempered the fervid rays of summer; so that, while other cities were panting with the sultry and stifling heat of the dog-days, the most salubrious breezes played through the marble halls of Granada.

"The glory of the city, however, was its vega, or plain, which spread out to a circumference of thirty-seven leagues, surrounded by lofty mountains, and was proudly

compared to the famous plain of Damascus. It was a vast garden of delight, refreshed by numerous fountains and by the silver windings of the Xenil. The labor and ingenuity of the Moors had diverted the waters of this river into thousands of rills and streams, and diffused them over the whole surface of the plain. Indeed, they had wrought up this happy region to a degree of wonderful prosperity, and took a pride in decorating it, as if it had been a favorite mistress. The hills were clothed with orchards and vineyards, the valleys embroidered with gardens, and the wide plains covered with waving grain. Here were seen in profusion the orange, the citron, the fig, and the pomegranate, with great plantations of mulberry-trees, from which was produced the finest silk. The vine clambered from tree to tree; the grapes hung in rich clusters about the peasant's cottage, and the groves were rejoiced by the perpetual song of the nightingale. In a word, so beautiful was the earth, so pure the air, and so serene the sky of this delicious region, that the Moors imagined the paradise of their prophet to be situated in that part of the heaven which overhung the kingdom of Granada."

Many another conqueror might have brought devastation into such a scene as an inevitable and lamented concomitant of war, to be as far as possible restrained, and as soon as possible repaired. But the deliberate policy of Ferdinand was to reduce all this to hopeless desolation. Holding that the Arabs could not be conquered while they were prosperous, he calmly planned to starve—not a garrison, not a city—but a whole kingdom into surrender.

The unsparing nature of this devastation is best

told in the calm words of Prescott's circumstantial description,¹ which includes not this single incursion only, but the ceaseless ravages that marked this war:

"The Moorish wars under preceding monarchs had consisted of little else than *cavalgadas*, or inroads into the enemy's territory, which, pouring like a torrent over the land, swept away whatever was upon the surface, but left it in its essential resources wholly unimpaired. The bounty of nature soon repaired the ravages of man, and the ensuing harvest seemed to shoot up more abundantly from the soil, enriched by the blood of the husbandman. A more vigorous system of spoliation was now introduced. Instead of one campaign, the army took the field in spring and autumn, intermitting its efforts only during the intolerable heats of summer, so that the green crop had no time to ripen, ere it was trodden down under the iron heel of war.

"The apparatus for devastation was also on a much greater scale than had ever before been witnessed. From the second year of the war, thirty thousand foragers were reserved for this service, which they effected by demolishing farmhouses, granaries, and mills (which last were exceedingly numerous in a land watered by many small streams), by *eradicating the vines*, and *laying waste the olive-gardens and plantations of oranges, almonds, mulberries, and all the rich varieties that grew luxuriant in this highly favored region*. This merciless devastation extended for more than two leagues on either side of the line of march."

Crops may grow again, if an industrious and free population is left. Villages may be rebuilt, but when fruit-trees are cut down, and all that

¹ "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i., ch. xi., p. 338.

time has accumulated on great plantations destroyed, future generations are impoverished, and the way prepared for enduring desolation. All the centuries since have not restored to Spain what her own sovereigns, in the ten years' war¹ against Granada, destroyed.

After this, it is needless to dwell on particular instances of cruelty; as, for instance, to tell how Ferdinand and Isabella (Isabella being present in person) consigned the whole population of Malaga, some sixteen thousand persons, to slavery; how the hope of ransom was held out to the unfortunates with the assurance that their jewels and other personal effects would be accepted in part payment; and how, when these proved insufficient, the doom of slavery was carried into effect, the crafty Ferdinand thus securing both the persons and the property; nor how the citizens of conquered Guadix, charged with "conspiracy," were decoyed without their walls, and the gates shut against all the men, women, and children of a city, who were left to make for themselves booths and hovels in the fields and gardens till the king's return; how Ferdinand, on his arrival, assured them he could do nothing till their

¹ From the capture of Zahara by the Spaniards, December 26, 1481, to the surrender of Granada, January 2, 1492.

case had been investigated, when all the guilty should be severely punished, but that, as he wished to be merciful, all who preferred to depart at once were free to do so, taking with them their families and personal property; how the whole population thought it safer to go out homeless into the world than to trust to the investigations of Spanish justice; nor how the same hard choice was offered to the people of Baza, Almeria, and other cities, who, almost with one consent, accepted the alternative of exile, leaving houses and lands, vineyards, gardens, and orchards to be appropriated by the conquering Spaniards. The foundations of the Spanish system, which holds dominion to consist in mere armed occupation, without regard to the resources of the earth or the welfare and happiness of the people, were then thoroughly laid—a system since carried out with unfaltering and unsparing rigor in every land on which the Spaniard has set foot for four hundred years.

V

EXPULSION OF THE JEWS AND MOORS

Failure of Persecution to Reclaim the Jews to Christianity—Persecutions in Other Lands—Peculiar Hardships of their Expulsion from Spain—Their Wealth and Culture—Offer of Thirty Thousand Ducats for Their Ransom—Torquemada Secures its Rejection—The Edict of Banishment—Jews Must Carry No Gold nor Silver—All their Property Suddenly Valueless—In Aragon Found to Be Hopelessly in Debt—The Scenes of Departure—The Number Banished—The Loss to the Kingdom—Era of Deceptive Prosperity—The Moral Injury to Spain—Expulsion of the Moors—A Fatal Blow to the Agriculture of Spain.

THE attempt at the enforced conversion of the Jews was found, at the end of ten years, to be utterly vain. Not even the *auto da fé* had been able to convince the Israelites of the superior excellence and divinity of Christianity. Then bigotry took a further stride, and demanded that their whole race be at once expelled from the kingdom.

The Jews have been cruelly treated in many lands, and were even expelled in considerable

numbers from England in 1290, and from France in 1395, but nowhere did persecution bring to that unfortunate people such vast and remediless misfortune as in their enforced exile from Spain. As a race, they had inhabited the land from the times of the Roman dominion, nearly or quite fifteen hundred years. Spain was their ancestral home, which they regarded as a second Palestine. The soil of Spain was consecrated by the graves of their fathers for many generations. The Spanish language was their native tongue. They were Spaniards even more truly than the descendants of the Visigothic conquerors who, on their first coming, had found them there. They were a cultured, peaceful, industrious, and wealthy race, exhibiting in Spain, as elsewhere, their unequalled genius for finance. In fact, their wealth may be considered in great part the cause of their ruin, envious references to their riches being curiously mixed up with the arguments of bigotry in the writings of the chroniclers of the time. It is even asserted that the estates of the great nobles were so largely mortgaged to wealthy Jews—in part, no doubt, on account of the prodigal expense incurred in the War of Granada—that they saw no way to discharge the debt but this comprehensive expatriation of the creditors. But the Jews of Spain were not mere traders and usurers.

The common people were proficient in the various industrial vocations, which at once secured them a comfortable subsistence and made them useful and valuable citizens. Their physicians were at the very front of the profession of medicine, which they had greatly advanced by diligently collating the discoveries of their travelers in the most distant lands. Their families were carefully, and many of them delicately nurtured, and ill fitted to bear the hardships of sudden exile.

While the edict for their expulsion was under consideration, they offered to the sovereigns a ransom of thirty thousand ducats, which had almost availed, when the fierce Torquemada burst into the royal apartment with a crucifix, exclaiming, "Judas Iscariot sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver. Your majesties would sell Him anew for thirty thousand. There He is! Take Him and barter Him away!" Flinging down the crucifix upon the table, the fanatical persecutor rushed from the room.¹ From that hour all hesitation was at an end. The edict for the expulsion of the Jews was signed at Granada, March 30, 1492. By its terms all Jews were required to depart from the kingdom by the end of July of the same year, and never to return on any pre-

¹ Prescott, "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. ii., ch. xvii., p. 135.

text whatever, under penalty of death. They were permitted to dispose of their effects, and to take the proceeds with them in any form, except that they must carry no silver or gold out of the country. This last stipulation, of course, made the accompanying permission almost worthless, as bills of exchange were then rare and difficult to obtain, while the time allowed was appallingly brief. The property of a whole people was for sale at once, while all buyers knew that the owners must abandon it, even if unsold, at the end of four months. Not only houses and lands, but agricultural implements, costly furniture, books, paintings, rugs, and tapestries, and even jewels of the prohibited silver or gold, must all be left behind. All their wealth was in an instant valueless. A whole people was reduced to destitution. In Aragon, it was even found that the Jews were so deeply in debt that it was necessary to sequester their estates for the benefit of their creditors. "Strange, indeed," says Prescott, "that the balance should be found against a people who have been everywhere conspicuous for their commercial sagacity and resources."

The scenes attending the expulsion are thus described by the same historian :

"When the period of departure arrived, all the principal routes through the country might be seen swarming with

emigrants, old and young, the sick and the helpless, men, women, and children, mingled promiscuously together, some mounted on horses or mules, but far the greater part undertaking their painful pilgrimage on foot. The sight of so much misery touched even the Spaniards with pity, though none might succor them; for the hard inquisitor, Torquemada, enforced the ordinance to that effect, by denouncing heavy ecclesiastical censures on all who should presume to violate it. The fugitives were distributed along various routes, being determined in their destination by accidental circumstances, much more than any knowledge of the respective countries to which they were bound."

The lowest estimate places the number of the exiles at one hundred and sixty thousand. The heart sickens at the dreadful record of their sufferings in various lands, from famine and pestilence, and from the savage hordes of Africa. It is gratifying to note that France and England had by this time so far remitted their persecutions as to allow some of the wanderers to find asylum there.

✓ The economic loss incurred by the sudden expulsion of such a number of skilled tradesmen and artisans, and industrious citizens, has been generally conceded. It must be remembered that these hundred and sixty thousand people were not only producers, but also consumers, and we have learned that prosperity depends as absolutely on the consumption as on the production of the results of labor. The market for all goods produced

in or brought to the Peninsula was at once reduced by the loss of this vast number of consumers.

It has, indeed, been objected, that the injury could not have been great, because it was in the period immediately succeeding the expulsion of the Jews that Spain attained her greatest prosperity. Her cities became populous, wealthy, and beautiful; her monarchs and nobles vied with each other in stately splendor; her schools and universities, under the wise and generous patronage of Isabella, were full of students, and scholarly pursuits among the young nobility took the place of the aimless or vicious luxury to which the possession of great wealth so often leads.

But all this prosperity was like the sudden strength of a patient in the paroxysms of a wasting fever, or like the sudden and abundant fruitage of a girdled tree, putting forth its amplest energies because it is stricken with death. The confiscation of the estates of Jews and Moors had the effect of opening Oklahomas throughout Spain, and gave new opportunities to enterprising Spaniards. The unification of the kingdom, the cessation of the costly and pernicious intestine warfare, the successes of the Spanish arms in Italy, the opening of commerce westward to America, with all the opportunities for adven-

turous spirits there, and the treasure brought from the New World to the Old, all tended to stimulate every form of industrial and intellectual activity, as long as the tide was directed by sovereigns whose general policy, in spite of great fundamental errors of administration, was liberal and enlightened. But those errors were destined to exert a more far-reaching and long-enduring influence than the personal virtues of the sovereigns that struggled to counteract them. That the prosperity of the closing part of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella was not sound and well rooted is shown by its swift and utter collapse, even the splendid military prestige of Spain being lost in less than a hundred and fifty years.

The moral effect upon the Spanish character of such a wholesale expulsion of peaceful citizens can not be computed. By the terms of the edict, every subject was forbidden "*to harbor, succor, or minister to the necessities* of any Jew after the expiration of the time fixed for his departure"—a prohibition enforced with unsparing rigor. Along all the roads of Spain, the residents must see crowds of harmless people toiling wearily on, the old, the sick, mothers with little babes in their arms, all going forth to hopeless exile, and none might give them so much as a cup of water or an hour of rest under a hospitable roof. To

witness misery with no attempt to alleviate is a fearfully heart-hardening process.

The same work was done, but more gradually and with some mitigating circumstances (through the protection and intervention of the then powerful Sultan of Turkey), in the expulsion of the Moors or Moriscos, as they had come to be known. After various persecutions goading them to rebellion, and political severities that drove great numbers to voluntary exile, the last of the race that retained their distinctive nationality were banished in 1609, under the reign of Philip III. Spain thus banished 500,000 of the most industrious and ingenious of her adult population, *all the children under four years of age being forcibly taken from their parents, to be brought up in the Christian faith!*

The expulsion of this people was a fatal blow to the agriculture of Spain; for the Moors were pre-eminent as cultivators of the soil. Districts once fertile and flourishing under their culture are now barren and desert, and Spain has long been dependent upon her colonies or upon foreign nations for crops which the despised and banished Moors produced so abundantly that they could export them to all the marts of the world.¹

¹ See ch. iv., p. 60.

VI

THE SPANIARD IN THE WEST INDIES

Possible and Actual Results of Spain's Discovery of America—Gentleness and Friendliness of the Islanders—Their Enslavement—Responsibility of Columbus—Isabella Opposes the System of Repartimientos—Attempts to Regulate it—The Condition of Native Laborers—Their Extermination.

THE greatest achievement of the fifteenth century, the discovery of America, fell to the lot of Spain, through the sagacity and courage of her queen, Isabella, in accepting the enterprise of the Genoese enthusiast, whom every other maritime nation of Europe had repulsed. Just as the Spaniards had conquered the unity of the chief part of their own peninsula, Providence laid at their feet the gift of a New World. When we think of the Spain of that day, with her ample sea-coast, commanding at once the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, her brave and hardy people, her united provinces and victorious armies, first of all the nations to discover and conquer the Western World, we pause in wonder at the vision,

on the one hand, of her possible advance, and on the other, of her actual failure and decline. It is not what men or nations receive, but what they are and do, that determines destiny. The Spanish people were utterly unfit to be pioneers of civilization or founders of enduring empire, or trusty guardians of the means of human welfare, prosperity, and happiness, even when these were thrust within their grasp.

All accounts agree as to the innocence, gentleness, and trustful good-nature of the inhabitants of the islands first discovered. It is mentioned as a striking proof of their simplicity, that they supposed the Spaniards to have come from heaven. We need only read the Spaniards' own accounts to learn how they brought upon these fair, fertile, and peaceful lands a visitation of hell. The proud hidalgos, who despised work, and the desperate adventurers, who hated it, threatened with starvation on the shores of the new lands where they had expected to pick up gold, saw no remedy at once so prompt and so effectual as to set the natives to work, whether they liked it or not. Here were the laborers ready to their hand, needing only to be enslaved.

While Columbus cannot be wholly acquitted of blame in this matter, yet historians agree that he was not primarily responsible for the enslave-

ment of the natives, but yielded to the demands of his reckless and mutinous followers, whom he, as a foreigner, could so ill restrain.

Irving expressly exempts Columbus, saying:

"When Columbus *was in a manner compelled* to assign lands to the rebellious followers of Francisco Roldan in 1499, he had made an arrangement that the caciques in their vicinity should, in lieu of tribute, furnish a number of their subjects to assist them in cultivating their estates. This . . . was the beginning of the disastrous system of repartimientos, or distributions of Indians." ¹

Queen Isabella strenuously opposed the repartimientos, and her influence held the system in check for a considerable time. A council was at length appointed to consider the matter. Then it was urged that the natives would not work unless compelled. It was added with charming *naïveté* that they would not associate with the Spaniards if allowed to keep away, from which it was concluded that they would have no chance to learn the Christian religion. To be sure, the idea of Christianity that an Indian would get by working as a slave on a Spanish plantation would be such as to make any respectable system of heathenism seem divine by comparison. But this consideration naturally did not occur to the minds of the council, and the royal consent was

¹ Irving, "Columbus," vol. ii., bk. xvi., ch. i., p. 515; cf. fuller statement, bk. xii., ch. iv., pp. 263, 264.

given to the enforced labor of the natives, with the requirement that they should be paid, and be instructed in the Christian religion.

In the words of Prescott,¹ "the humane regulations of Isabella were construed with their usual latitude by the Spaniards." How they were construed, Irving tells more in detail:²

"They were separated often the distance of several days' journey from their wives and children, and doomed to intolerable labor of all kinds, extorted by the cruel infliction of the lash. For food they had the cassava bread, an unsubstantial support for men obliged to labor; sometimes a scanty portion of pork was distributed among a great number of them, scarce a mouthful to each. When the Spaniards who superintended the mines were at their repast, says Las Casas, the famished Indians scrambled under the table, like dogs, for any bone thrown them. After they had gnawed and sucked it, they pounded it between stones, and mixed it with their cassava bread, that nothing of so precious a morsel might be lost. As to those who labored in the fields, they never tasted either flesh or fish; a little cassava bread and a few roots were their support. While the Spaniards thus withheld the nourishment necessary to sustain their health and strength, they exacted a degree of labor sufficient to break down the most vigorous man. If the Indians fled from this incessant toil and barbarous coercion, and took refuge in the mountains, they were hunted out like wild beasts, scourged in the most inhuman manner, and laden with chains to prevent a second escape. Many perished long before their term of labor had expired. Those who

¹ "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. ii., p. 469.

² "Life of Columbus," vol. ii., bk. xvii., pp. 516-519.

survived their term of six or eight months were permitted to return to their homes until the next term commenced. But their homes were often forty, sixty, and eighty leagues distant. They had nothing to sustain them through the journey but a few roots or *agi* peppers, or a little cassava bread. Worn down by long toil and cruel hardships, which their feeble constitutions were incapable of sustaining, many had not strength to perform the journey, but sank down and died by the way. . . . 'I have found many dead in the road,' says Las Casas, 'others gasping under the trees, and others in the pangs of death, faintly crying, "Hunger! hunger!"'¹ Those who reached their homes most commonly found them desolate. During the eight months they had been absent, their wives and children had either perished or wandered away; the fields on which they depended for food were overrun with weeds, and nothing was left them but to lie down, exhausted and despairing, and die at the threshold of their habitations.

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"Twelve years had not elapsed since the discovery of the island [of Hispaniola], and *several hundred thousand* of its native inhabitants had perished, miserable victims to the grasping avarice of the white men."

The men who did this are the "heroic ancestry" to which Governor-General Blanco appeals in his recent proclamation. We may say, in the words addressed to the scribes and Pharisees of old, "Truly ye bear witness unto yourselves that ye allow the deeds of your fathers." The starvation and extermination of the Cubans to-day are strictly in the line of Spanish conquest and rule

¹ Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, lib. ii., cap. 14.

for four hundred years. The *reconcentrados* of the nineteenth century answer to the *repartimientos* of the sixteenth.* Spanish character and dominion—Spanish ferocity, savagery, and mercilessness—hold on their way through the centuries with an unfaltering, unpardonable, and intolerable consistency. The story of Hispaniola is that of all the beautiful West India islands.

VII

THE SPANIARD IN MEXICO AND PERU

Mexico and the Aztec Race—Their Civilization and Religion—Human Sacrifices—Prowess of the Spaniards—The Landing in Mexico—Hospitable Reception—The Emperor's Present—Discord in the Empire Fomented by the Spaniards—Seizure of the Emperor Montezuma—Rebellion in the Capital—Disastrous Retreat—Battle of Otumba—Cortes Strikes down Native Commander—Rout of the Aztecs—Cortes Returns to and Besieges Mexico—Death of Montezuma—Politic Cruelty of Cortes—Tlascalan Spies—Massacre of Cholula—Chiefs Burnt Alive—Guatemozin Put to Death—Pizarro Compared with Cortes—His Kind Reception in Peru—Capture of the Inca—Treasures of Peru—Brutal Cruelties of Pizarro—Repartimientos—Decline of the Nation—Mexico and Peru Throw off the Spanish Yoke.

JUST across the Gulf to the west of the islands first discovered lay the most promising land of the New World. Along the shore is a torrid stretch of mingled desert and wilderness. Back of this rise the hills leading up to the tablelands, which in that time were well watered and covered with the fruits of a semi-tropical climate.

Still farther west, volcanic ridges raise their highest peaks into the regions of eternal snow; and beyond, a sharp descent leads down to the Pacific Ocean. Midway between the eastern and western seas, a valley, hollowed out of the table-land, holds five small lakes. In this valley of Mexico, noted for its beauty and fertility, dwelt the strange Aztec race, differing in language, customs, and race from the natives of the islands and of the regions to north and south. They had built great cities; had developed agriculture and many arts; and maintained a stable monarchy. Their religion was a kind of nature worship, but was accompanied with the horrors of human sacrifice. In many respects, their civilization resembled that of the ancient Egyptians.

It may be true that their empire had already reached its zenith, and must inevitably have declined.¹ It is certain that its religion, with its human sacrifices and cannibalism, was working increasing degradation. But it is also unquestionable that there were in this people elements of power and high character well worthy of preservation. Had the Roman taken this fair land, he would have preserved its people, repressed their worst abuses, grafted his own race and cus-

¹ Prescott, "Conquest of Mexico," vol. iii., bk. vi., ch. viii.

toms upon the sturdy stock already growing, and developed a great people. Such a policy was never understood by Spain.

The Spaniards started in to the conquest of these new lands with an impetuous valor scarce equaled in history. From overwhelming numbers fighting for their homes, mere handfuls of Spanish knights wrested great territories. The Spaniard proved himself the equal of the Roman in conquering power. Had there been in him the Roman's ability to govern and develop the conquered lands, the map of America would to-day be widely different, and Spain would be the greatest power of the world. But Spanish cruelty and lust destroyed the fruits of Spanish valor, while they made Spain's name a word of terror such as not even Rome's had ever been.

In the spring of the year 1519, Hernando Cortés landed with some six hundred men, where now stands Vera Cruz. For cavalry, he had sixteen horses; for artillery, ten cannon and four falconets. This little force had been sent from Cuba to explore the mainland, under authority of the governor—less than seven hundred men to conquer a populous and warlike empire.

Fortunately for the Spaniards, no resistance was made to their landing. On the contrary,

they received a most hospitable reception. The natives set up booths to shelter the Spaniards from the scorching sun; brought them freely the food-products of the country, and served them with no recompense.

The Aztec emperor, Montezuma, forbade their approaching the capital, and directed them to return in peace to the land whence they came. With this message he sent a gift of gold, silver, and precious stones, worth something like a quarter of a million dollars. Better for him had he sent a sheaf of arrows and a bold defiance! The undreamed-of wealth fired the hearts of the Spaniards; and when they learned that there were divisions in the empire and that some of the tribes would side with them against Montezuma, the doom of Mexico was sealed. Forming alliances with tribes hostile to Montezuma, crushing those hostile to himself, Cortés made his way to the seat of the hitherto unconquered emperor.

Montezuma doubted whether to receive these men as the resistless messengers of the gods, or to muster all his forces to drive them from the land. The Spaniards had no wavering, no scruples, no gratitude. With one stroke of Spanish perfidy and boldness, they seized the emperor himself, made him declare that he visited them of his

own will, and used him at the same time as master of his people and hostage of his foes. For a time, the victory seemed perfect. The prince, whom his people still revered and obeyed as absolute autocrat, the Spaniards had in their hands as an absolute tool.

But terrible conflicts were to come. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, by whom Cortés had been sent out, learned that his lieutenant was conquering too much, and sent a force to arrest him. Cortés was obliged to leave the capital to confront this new danger. He surprised and seized the leader, won the followers over to his own standard, and turned the hostile army into a reinforcement, with which he returned to the capital. But in his absence, his lieutenant, Alvarado, had perpetrated a wanton massacre of six hundred Mexican nobles, and the whole city had risen with a cry for vengeance. Cortés succeeded in throwing himself into the fortress where his countrymen were besieged, after which the attack was renewed with such terrific fury as drove the conquerors at last to attempt their escape by night. Caught and hemmed in on the single narrow causeway leading from the city, they were assailed by overwhelming numbers. The slaughter through the night hours was terrible, and it seems wonderful that any survived.

After the first perils of the escape, as they crossed the mountains, their reduced and weary band was brought face to face with a multitudinous host in the valley of Otumba. Fairly swallowed up in the throng, the army would have been defeated where defeat meant extermination, but for the sagacity and personal courage of Cortés, who, sweeping his glance over the deadly field, recognized by his splendid dress and equipage the Aztec chief amid the press, plunged into the sea of foes, and slew the leader with his own hand. The chieftain's fall was the signal for the total rout of the vast Aztec host.

By a wonderful union of valor and address, Cortés secured a vast army of allies from the native tribes hostile to the Aztec domination. He also captured and won to his standard new forces of Spaniards whom the unlucky Velasquez sent to oppose him. So reinforced, he returned to the capital, now armed and fortified by the heroic young emperor Guatemozin, who had succeeded to the throne of Montezuma, the latter having been mortally wounded by his own subjects when he stepped into the breach to plead for his Spanish captors as his "friends." "Dog!" "Woman!" they shouted, when they heard that plea, and struck him down with a shower of missiles. After a siege of three months almost

unexampled in history, the capital fell, and the conquest of Mexico was complete.

Cortés seems not to have been cruel from passion, but on principle. Where he could secure submission by mild measures he preferred to do so; but where he thought it profitable to intimidate, human life and suffering were not one moment considered. When he discovered fifty Tlascalan spies in his camp, he simply cut off the hands of the whole party, and sent the poor wretches, thus maimed and agonized, back to their people—an act that had the effect to cow and humble that powerful nation, who eventually became his most efficient allies. This, it should be observed, was an act of mercy, since by the laws of war he might have put them all to death.

In the great, sacred city of Cholula, he detected a conspiracy against himself, and anticipated it by a ferocious massacre of an unwarned crowd whom he had decoyed into a walled inclosure under his guns, then by the sack of the beautiful, populous, thriving city. A poor little town of sixteen thousand people now occupies the ancient site. For the assassination of two Spanish soldiers, Cortés burned alive sixteen chiefs of the highest rank in the courtyard of the captive Montezuma. It would be vain to attempt to

recite the whole catalogue of barbarities. Every one of them had, indeed, a military effectiveness. Cortés knew when it would pay to be cruel—something that his own lieutenants could never learn. When they perpetrated a massacre—as in the case of Alvarado in the capital—they maddened the people, whom the terrible blows of Cortés always cowed and subdued. Yet even the poor excuse of military effectiveness cannot be pleaded for the murder of the brave young emperor Guatemozin, on a trumped-up charge, long after all hostilities, or possibility of hostilities, had ceased. As the heathen was led to the fatal tree, he turned to his captor, saying, “I knew what it was to trust to your false promises, Malinche [the Indian name given to Cortés]; I knew that you had destined me to this fate, since I did not fall by my own hand when you entered my city of Tenochtitlan. Why do you slay me thus unjustly? *God will demand it of you!*”¹

The conquest of Peru reads like a repetition of that of Mexico, with harsher lines and darker shades. While Cortés was a cavalier, of ancient family, and highly educated for a soldier of that day, Pizarro was a foundling and a swineherd, and unable to read or write. There was a corre-

¹ Prescott, “Conquest of Mexico,” vol. iii., bk. vii., ch. iii., p. 273.

sponding difference in the quality of the followers whom he drew around his standard. Pizarro began his career of conquest in 1532. He found in Peru a civilization higher and more humane than that of Mexico, and a people gentler and more refined. He was received with the most confiding good-nature and hospitality. He repaid it with the most abominable, purposeless, and brutal cruelties. Like Cortés, he seized the emperor, or Inca, and extorted all his treasure as ransom, including the seven thousand plates of pure gold, each "the size of the lid of a chest," torn from the sacred temple of the sun. When he had extorted the uttermost ransom, he burnt the captive monarch at the stake on charges that satisfied a drum-head court-martial of Spanish captains, chiefly for having been a heathen before he had ever heard of even such Christianity as the Spaniards came to bring. In negotiating with the successor of the murdered monarch, a messenger of Pizarro was killed by a party of natives. Pizarro had captured a wife of the Inca, a young and beautiful woman. On this guiltless and harmless woman the Spanish commander wreaked his revenge, ordering her to be stripped naked, bound to a tree, scourged with rods in presence of his ruffian army, and then shot to death with arrows, all which the captive endured

with Indian fortitude, without one complaint or groan.¹

It is needless to pursue further the record of sickening cruelties that turned the fair and prosperous empire of the Incas to a desolation. The manufactures of delicate fabrics; the cunning workmanship in silver and gold; the exquisite sculpture of emeralds and other precious stones; the architecture that piled massive hewn stones of granite and porphyry with such perfect juncture that a knife-blade cannot even now be thrust between the stones; the great flocks of llamas that were pastured on the mountains; the scientific agriculture, bringing fertility to wide, rainless districts, so that poverty was practically unknown; the great system of roads, aqueducts, and bridges, reminding one of the works of ancient Rome—all were whelmed in a ruin, which the centuries since have not been long enough to rebuild.

In both Mexico and Peru the wasting system of repartimientos, sketched in a previous chapter,² was introduced. Both were subjected to the narrow Spanish system of colonial rapacity and monopoly that sought to wring from the land the

¹ Prescott, "Conquest of Peru," vol. ii., bk. iv., ch. iii., p. 110.

² Ch. vi., pp. 80, 81.

utmost momentary riches and to turn all the streams of trade into Spanish channels only. Both countries languished under the oppressive system, till within the present century they threw off the hated yoke, Peru in 1820, and Mexico in 1824. The departure of the Spaniard from Mexico was signalized by the same cruelties as his advent. In the fortunately vain attempt to suppress the insurrection, the Spanish pursued a war of extermination against the new Mexicans, who were largely of their own blood and race, every commander being allowed at his own discretion to hunt down and slaughter the insurgents like brutes. It cannot be wondered at that colonies which have been for centuries under such tutelage should be slow in recovery, even after achieving independence.

VIII

THE SPANIARD ON THE THRONE

Philip II. a Typical Spaniard—His Personal Appearance—Vicious Indulgences—Fathomless Duplicity—Promises Set Aside—Death of His Young Wife—Marries Mary of England—Her Character and Death—Imprisonment and Death of Philip's Son, Don Carlos—Death of the Marquis of Bergen—Perfidious Secret Execution of Montigny—Philip's Bigotry—Organizing Netherland Persecution—Recovers Health on News of a Massacre—"Eaten of Worms"—His Death—Results of His Reign.

CHARLES THE FIFTH had been cosmopolitan. He succeeded to the crown, as Charles I. of Spain; by his election as Emperor of Germany, June 28, 1519, he became Charles V. of Germany, by which name he is best known. His history belongs more to Europe than to Spain. His son, Philip the Second, who was born as Valladolid, May 21, 1527, was simply and only a Spaniard—the first thoroughly typical Spanish king. He spoke no tongue but Spanish. He was not a

soldier like his father, and for that reason loved to be painted in complete suits of gilded armor. Nor did he inherit his father's gross intemperance, but he excelled him, if possible, in lascivious excesses, and those of the meanest and most unkingly type. In the words of Motley:¹ "He was grossly licentious. It was his chief amusement to issue forth at night disguised, that he might indulge in vulgar and miscellaneous incontinence in the common haunts of vice."

To these personal habits he joined a fathomless dissimulation and duplicity. An example of this may be seen in the promises made in answer to an embassy from the Netherlands in 1556. He gave his written promise that pardon—with many reservations—should be granted for past offences, and that the Papal Inquisition should be discontinued. As soon as this document was sent out, he called a notary and witnesses, and made a written deposition that this pardon had been extorted from him and was consequently null and void. Then he wrote to the Pope to announce that his promise regarding the Inquisition could have no force, because he had no right to make such a promise without the pontiff's consent. Thus with two strokes of the

¹ "Rise of the Dutch Republic," vol. i., pt. i., ch. ii., p. 145.

pen he absolved himself from his own solemn, royal pledge.¹

His young wife, Maria of Portugal, having died in 1543, Philip, in 1554, for reasons of state, married Queen Mary of England—that daughter of Henry the Eighth known in history as “Bloody Mary”—who was eleven years older than himself, ill-tempered and ill-looking, and in wretchedly ill health. In this alliance he spent some miserable years, trying to smooth down his cold and savage demeanor enough to induce the English to declare him king—which the stubborn islanders steadily refused to do. Not even the funeral pyres of Smithfield, answering those of Seville and Madrid, could bind the royal pair in the bliss of mutual bigotry. When, at length, the expected child of this ill-starred marriage, for whose promised advent all the bells of England were set pealing, proved a myth, and Mary died in 1558, disappointed and unlamented, Philip planned to revenge himself on England by the “Invincible Armada,” the fate of which has made its name a byword in history.

Like his ancestor, John II. of Aragon, Philip II. had a son by his first marriage, a new Don Carlos. True to the family traditions, the father

¹ Motley, “Dutch Republic,” vol. ii., pt. ii., ch. viii., pp. 5, 6.

quarreled with and imprisoned his son. The prince seems to have feared some such fate, for he slept with sword, dagger, and firearms at his pillow. The king put on a suit of armor, a helmet on his head, and went with five noblemen and twelve soldiers to the prince's room at midnight. He prudently sent the lords—whose lives were so much less precious—to secure the weapons. Then the armed king appeared, and the poor youth could resist no longer. He soon died in prison in that mysterious way common in Spain. This was the only child of the young wife, Maria of Portugal, who had died almost in giving him birth, and for whose sake much might have been forgiven.

The fate of two envoys, the Marquis of Bergen and Baron Montigny, sent by the government of the Netherland provinces to present their grievances, well illustrates the monarch's character. As ambassadors, their lives were sacred by the immemorial laws of nations. They were held in wearisome captivity till it was found that Bergen was slowly dying of an obscure disease, aggravated by homesickness. Philip sent one of his subservient nobles, Ruy Gomez, Prince of Eboli, to the sick man,¹ to condole with him as a friend, but with careful written instructions, that if he

¹ Prescott, "Philip II.," vol. ii., bk. iii., ch. vi., p. 315.

found he was *sure to die*, he should promise him a speedy return to the Netherlands; but *if there was a chance of his getting well*, he should only hold out a distant possibility of return. Bergen soon after died in captivity.

Montigny was reserved for a darker fate. He was tried and condemned by the Council of Blood in Brussels, while he himself was closely imprisoned in Spain. Philip conferred with his council as to the means of executing the sentence without public scandal. The council recommended slow poison. But Philip adjudged that method not severe enough. The condemned man must know, and the public must not know, that he was executed. Letters to the king, telling first of Montigny's severe illness and later of his death, were written at Madrid, under the king's supervision. These were given to certain officers, who took them to Valladolid, six miles from Montigny's prison at Simancas. There the death-doing party waited, while the king's physician daily visited the prisoner, who was in perfect health, and every day gave out more and more alarming reports of his illness. When all was ready, the notary, priest, and executioner, all sworn to secrecy under pain of death, left Valladolid by night, strangled the baron with all due formalities in his cell by night, returned by

night to Valladolid, and sent to the king the letter relating Montigny's death from fever, which the monarch had put into their hands ere they left Madrid. The victim was buried in the robe of a Franciscan monk, which came up high enough on the neck to cover the marks of strangulation. It is noticeable that Don Carlos was also buried in a Franciscan robe.¹ Philip sent the letters which his agents had signed, to be given out publicly by Alva in the Netherlands, and with them, for Alva's reading only, a full account of the real infamous facts, of which the monarch had not the grace to be ashamed.

So perfectly had he covered his trail, that it was hidden for centuries from the eyes of the world, till the researches of our own day brought it to light in the letters of the king and his ministers preserved in the Archives of Simancas.² Since Spain's ideal monarch could thus perfidiously do to death one who came to him in the sacred character of herald and envoy, no man need wonder that when an American battleship is blown up at night in a Spanish port, and at a buoy to which she had been towed by a Spanish pilot, in a time of profound peace, the deed should be viewed in the light of the history of the past;

¹ Prescott, "Philip II.," vol. ii., bk. iv., ch. vii., p. 582.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., bk. iii., ch. vi., p. 309.

and that all Americans should believe that there may have been a countryman of the second Philip base enough to do the deed, and crafty enough to cover his tracks till the sea shall give up its dead.

But Philip's bigotry was as unlimited as his vices. It was all he had of religion, and had become the consuming passion of his narrow, profligate, perfidious, and ferocious soul. This led to the long series of almost incredible outrages that mark the sad, grand story of the Netherlands, as will be related in the following chapter. He found the Spanish nation, generals, nobles, and common soldiers, all the unanimous and cordial instruments of his inhuman barbarity; but through all those dreadful scenes Philip himself was presiding with tireless industry, writing out with his own hand endless pages and folios of instructions; sending from his palace at Madrid or the Escorial to his governors in the Netherlands accusations against the humblest offenders, with minute descriptions of their personal appearance as detailed to him by his retinue of spies, that no mistake might prevent their apprehension.¹ The tentacles of the royal octopus were feeling about every hamlet and every home from the Peninsula to the shores of the Northern

¹ Motley, "Dutch Republic," vol. i., pt. ii., ch. ii., p. 279.

Sea. Nor did he ever find any subordinate so cruel, nor any deed so barbarous, as not to receive his full approval. The news of the capture of Harlem, and the slaughter in cold blood of 2,300 of its citizens, after promises of protection, so greatly delighted him as to cause his prompt recovery from dangerous illness. Yet all this craft and cruelty at last utterly failed. The league against the Huguenot king, in which Philip had joined, was defeated, and the Spanish contingent of picked cavalry cut to pieces by Henry of Navarre in the famous battle of Ivry in 1590. Philip was forced to acknowledge the well-won title of Henry IV. to the crown of France. In the Netherlands, the son of the murdered Orange, Maurice of Nassau, was entering on that career of success in which he defeated the Spanish veterans on many a hard-fought field; the fleets of the Netherlands were victorious on the sea, and the independence of the Dutch Republic had become an accomplished though not yet a formally recognized fact.

After reading all the story, it is impossible not to feel a grim satisfaction that this royal monster of perfidy, ingratitude, tyranny, cruelty, and lust at last met the fate of Herod Agrippa: "He was eaten of worms and gave up the ghost."¹

¹ Acts xii., 23.

Defeated in the most cherished aims of his life, he was carried painfully to his favorite palace of the Escorial to die.¹ The manner of his death is an emblem of the irredeemable corruption to which he had reduced his kingdom, which has resisted alike the surgery of war and the medication of statesmanship for four hundred years.

Philip II. was the last king of Spain. There have since been many tenants of the throne, but these titular princes have not made the history of Spain. The kingdom has been really governed, not by its kings, but by ambitious ministers, or unworthy favorites of king or queen, with here and there a lonely statesman. History concerns itself, not with the succession of princes named Philip or Charles, but with such names as Lerma, Olivarez, Haro, Nithard, Medina-Cœli, Oropesa, Alberoni, Ripperda, Patiño, or Godoy.

In the words of Mignet: Charles V. [I. of Spain] had been both a general and a king; Philip II. was merely a king; Philip III. and Philip IV. had not been kings; Charles II. was not even a man."

¹ For particulars of his death, see Motley, "History of the United Netherlands, vol. iii., ch. xxxv., p. 503.

IX

THE SPANIARD IN THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherland Provinces — Manufactures — Discoveries, Commerce, Conquests, and Wealth — Persecution — Popular Protest — The Beggars — The Request — Alva's Invasion — The Council of Blood — Confiscations — Exodus of Inhabitants — Trade of the Provinces Turned to England — Execution of Egmont and Horn — Desolation Wrought by the Council of Blood — Massacres at Jemmingen, Mechlin, and Naarden — Alva Removed — Decamps, Leaving his Debts Unpaid — Requesens Governor — Siege of Leyden — Alexander of Parma — The Prince of Orange Assassinated — "A Laudable and Generous Deed" — Maurice of Nassau — His Victories — Spain Recognizes the Independence of the United Provinces.

THE Netherland provinces, fittingly called "The Low Countries," including Holland and Belgium, had been redeemed by an industrious, hardy, and enterprising race from the sand-dunes of the seashore, and in part from the very bottom of the sea, which was kept out by mighty dikes, while the inhabitants cultivated their gardens and or-

chards below the level at which their ships rode on the surrounding waters. Vast manufacturing interests supplied the materials of a lucrative export trade, while their adventurous mariners brought back the riches of all lands, and made discoveries and conquests in America and at the antipodes, importing to their bleak and naturally barren land the tropical fruits and spices of the South Seas. This land of industry, wealth, enterprise, and happiness, the Spanish autocrat and bigot, Philip the Second, calmly proceeded to devastate.¹

Great numbers of the Netherlanders had adopted the reformed religion. Against these the monarch enforced with merciless rigor the famous "Edict of 1550," enacted by Charles V., which provided that—

"No one shall print, write, copy, keep, conceal, sell, buy, or give in churches, streets, or other places, any book or writing made by Martin Luther, John Ecolampadius, Ulrich Zwinglius, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, or other heretics reprobated by the Holy Church; . . . nor break, or otherwise injure the images of the Holy Virgin or canonized saints; . . . nor in his house hold conventicles, or illegal gatherings, or be present at any such in which the adherents of the above-mentioned heretics teach, baptize, and form conspiracies against the Holy Church and the general welfare. . . . Moreover, we forbid all lay persons *to converse or dispute concerning*

¹ Motley, vol. i., ch. i., p. 112.

the Holy Scriptures, openly or secretly, especially on any doubtful or difficult matters, or *to read, teach, or expound the Scriptures*, unless they have duly studied theology and been approved by some renowned university, or to preach secretly or openly, or to *entertain any of the opinions* of the above-mentioned heretics; . . . on pain, should any one be found to have contravened any of the points above-mentioned as perturbators of our state and of the general quiet, to be punished in the following manner :

“That such perturbators are to be executed, to wit : the men with the sword, and *the women to be buried alive*, if they *do not* persist in their errors ; if they do persist in them, then they are to be executed with fire ; all their property in both cases being confiscated to the crown.”¹

As this was met with widespread protest, Philip, in 1567, let loose upon the Netherlands the terrible Alva.

A haughty noble, a renowned and victorious general, he came at the head of ten thousand armed men ; of whom thirteen hundred were cavalry, and the remainder the yet invincible Spanish infantry. With this force marched two thousand prostitutes, as regularly enrolled and disciplined as the soldiers they accompanied, Alva had promised his master that he would silence all protest by cutting off the heads of all the refractory nobles, and that from his confiscation of estates he would cause “a stream of treas-

¹ Motley, “Rise of the Dutch Republic,” vol. i., pt. ii., ch. i., p. 262.

ure a yard deep" to flow into Spain,¹ and assure him an annual income of 500,000 ducats from confiscations. With the true spirit of a robber-baron, he could see no use for the riches accumulated by peaceful industry, except as the materials for wholesale plunder. His dull intellect could not perceive that when the wealth was swept away and the producers were exterminated there would be nothing that could even be stolen.

At the very news of his coming, "the most industrious and valuable part of the population left the land in droves."² Thousands of Flemish weavers settled in England, where they were cordially received, by which means the tide of commerce was turned in a few years, so that England exported to the Netherlands the textile fabrics that she had formerly imported from the same land. At length edicts were passed forbidding any one to leave the country, and these were mercilessly enforced.

Alva's first official act was to establish what he called "The Council of Troubles," better known, however, as the "Council of Blood"—a body absolutely without warrant or commission, simply a little junta of men informally invited to assist him in his work of slaughter.

¹ Motley, "Dutch Republic."

² Motley, vol. ii., pt. ii., ch. x., p. 95.

Three great nobles had been prominent in the opposition to Philip's measures—William, Prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horn. All had been doomed to death before Alva left Spain. Philip then sent them affectionate letters to allay all apprehensions. Orange, the favorite pupil of Charles the Fifth, knew too well how to gauge Spanish diplomacy, and withdrew into Germany; but Egmont and Horn were flattered to their death. Alva himself, at his coming, effusively embraced Egmont, "throwing his arm around the stately neck which he had already doomed to the block." Then Alva invited both the counts to a friendly little company at his own house, and there arrested them. All their estates were instantly confiscated, and after a protracted mockery of trial by written documents both were suddenly brought to the block.

Reduced from affluence to sudden poverty, the wife of Egmont, a high-born, delicately nurtured, and lovely woman, the daughter of emperors, had toiled and pleaded with pathetic earnestness and tenderness for her husband's release, even falling at the feet of Alva in humble supplication. After the execution Alva wrote to Philip: "The Countess Egmont's condition *fills me with the deepest pity, burdened as she is with a family of eleven children, none old enough to take care of*

themselves.”¹ He added that it was doubtful if they had enough to buy themselves a supper that very night, and begged the king to do something for the family whose rich estates he had confiscated to the last penny. This stately and compassionate letter might impose upon the reader even at this day, if we did not know that the writer, who expresses “the deepest pity” for the widow, had just rushed her husband to the scaffold in a time so brief as to make the mere reading of the evidence a physical impossibility, and had allowed (if not induced) her to believe the count safe, so that on the very fatal morning she went to comfort another lady whose husband she supposed to be in greater danger.

The Blood Council wrought with terrific industry, condemning victims not one at a time, but thirty, forty, eighty, ninety at once on the same information and warrant. In the words of Motley:²

“Thus the whole country became a charnel-house; the death-bell tolled hourly in every village. . . . Columns and stakes in every street, the doors of private houses, the fences in the fields, were laden with human carcasses, strangled, burned, beheaded. The orchards in the country bore on many a tree the fruit of human bodies.”

¹ Prescott, “Philip the Second,” vol. ii., bk. iii., ch. v., p. 299; Motley, “Dutch Republic,” vol. ii., pt. iii., ch. ii., p. 212.

² “Dutch Republic,” vol. ii., pt. iii., ch. i., p. 146.

Alva boasted after his departure that he had executed 18,600 people in the Netherlands, besides all who perished by battle and massacre.

Yet behind all this was a greater fear. State persecution was terrible; war was terrible; but even more dreadful was "the Spanish Inquisition," the secret tribunal, which the Spanish monarch showed himself determined to fasten on the subject provinces. The hunted burghers and villagers at last took up arms. Then havoc was let loose. The matchless veterans of Spain easily conquered the unwarlike citizens in battle, and slaughtered them in defeat as sheep were never slaughtered in the shambles.

It is impossible in this sketch to do more than touch the story of battles and massacres extending over more than forty years.

At Jemmingen, in 1568, 7,000 patriot soldiers, shut in upon a narrow peninsula, were mercilessly butchered. A small number, about one hundred, swam to an island in the stream; the next day, at low tide, the Spaniards waded to the island and slaughtered them to a man—a deed that has not even the poor excuse of the rage of battle.¹

The beautiful archiepiscopal city of Mechlin was sacked in 1572, because Alva had not money

¹ Motley, "Dutch Republic," vol. ii., pt. iii., ch. iii., p. 223.

to pay his soldiers and must satisfy them by plunder. The historian tells us:¹

“The property of friend and foe, of Papist and Calvinist, was indiscriminately rifled. . . . Three days long the horrible scene continued. . . . All the churches, monasteries, religious houses of every kind, were completely sacked. Every valuable article which they contained, the ornaments of altars, the reliquaries, chalices, embroidered curtains, and carpets of velvet or damask, the golden robes of priests, the repositories of the host, the precious vessels of chrism and of extreme unction, the rich clothing and jewelry adorning the effigies of the Holy Virgin—all were indiscriminately rifled by the Spanish soldiers. . . . The murders and outrages would be incredible, were they not attested by most respectable Catholic witnesses. Men were butchered in their houses, in the streets, at the altars. Women were violated by hundreds in churches and in graveyards.”

Spanish conditions of surrender and promises of protection proved utterly worthless. The city of Naarden surrendered on a solemn promise of protection, and the trustful citizens prepared in their houses a sumptuous dinner for the Spanish troops. They were then directed to assemble in the great church, when the Spaniards fell upon them with sword and dagger, till all in the church were dispatched, including the magistrate from whose table the Spanish commandant had but just risen. Then followed outrage and conflagration, till Naarden ceased to exist.

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pt. iii., ch. vii., pp. 407-411.

"Miracles of brutality were accomplished. Neither church nor hearth was sacred. Men were slain, women outraged, at the altars, in the streets, in their blazing homes. . . . A body of some hundred burghers made their escape across the snow into the open country. They were, however, overtaken, stripped stark-naked, and hung upon the trees by their feet, to freeze or to perish by a more lingering death."¹

It is idle to say that such deeds have been the usual result of war. Such massacre and outrage did not stain the victories even of Spanish troops under the stony-hearted Ferdinand in the ten years' war against the Saracens of Granada. The Spaniards had progressed, not in refinement, but in barbarity. Nor has any other nation—whatever sudden excesses may have been committed—kept up an unremitting series of such atrocities against the unresisting and helpless for a period of forty years.

Desperate at length with insult and outrage, the women of the Netherlands laid aside the gentler instincts of their sex, and in every siege stood beside their fathers, husbands, and brothers on the ramparts, poured boiling water and scalding pitch on the mail-clad invaders, or flung hoops, wound with rags dipped in melted pitch and tar and set on fire, round the necks of their

¹ Motley, "Dutch Republic," vol. ii., pt. iii., ch. viii., p. 422

assailants; glad, if the city fell, to be recognized only as combatants, and fall beside their dear ones by the indiscriminating sword. Often they turned the tide of battle, till a Netherland rampart became impossible for even Spanish valor to scale.

Alva was recalled in 1573. This Spanish duke and governor-general departed secretly by night, leaving his vast personal debts unpaid and the finances of the provinces exhausted.

Under the rule of Alva's successor, Requesens, in 1574, occurred the woful but glorious siege of Leyden, whose unwarlike burghers held out four months against all that the picked troops of Spain could do. Meantime the Prince of Orange broke down the dikes far and wide, circle within circle, while the starving people of Leyden painfully climbed the high tower that overlooked the city and plain, to watch wistfully through the hot summer days for the incoming of the North Sea, so slow to reclaim its ancient right. At length, in October, the equinoctial gale, driving from the west, piled the water on the shore of Holland; the Netherland fleet sailed in, fighting and defeating the Spanish ships amid the boughs of the apple-trees and the chimneys of the houses of inundated farms and villages. Along wet and oozy causeways, fast undermined, the Spanish

army fled before the resistless sea and the vengeful, slaughtering Zealand sailors, and Leyden was saved. Soldiers, sailors, and citizens crowded to the great church to give thanks to the God of sea and of land and of battles, and when they sought to join in a song of thanksgiving, strong men, with the women and children, broke down in a passion of tumultuous weeping.

At last, the unremitting war had turned the peaceful burghers into soldiers of wonderful endurance and courage; it had developed the Dutch fleet into a victorious power on the sea; while the Prince of Orange held the people united by the power of his personal character, and foiled the redoubted Parma with a generalship equal to his own.

Philip and Parma then determined to advertise for the killing of the unconquerable hero—the Washington of Holland, and one of the purest patriots of any age—as if he had been a highwayman or a mad dog. In 1581 a royal proclamation was issued, promising 25,000 crowns in gold to any one who would capture or kill him, with the added promise:

“If he [the assassin] have committed any crime, however heinous, we promise to pardon him; and if he be not already noble, we will ennoble him for his valor.”

It is to be doubted if such an undisguised ap-

peal to the worst of the criminal class was ever before or since issued by a civilized government. The appeal soon bore fruit in attempts upon the life of Orange. At last, on the 10th of July, 1584, a poor fanatic, Balthazar Gérard, shot the prince in the back with a pistol purchased with money which the prince had given him to relieve his apparent poverty. The murdered hero's last words were: "O God, have mercy on my soul! O God, have mercy on this poor people!" The people for whom his life had been given were his last care in death.

The renowned general, Alexander of Parma, wrote to Philip to recommend the payment of the reward which "the *laudable and generous* deed had so well deserved."¹ Such was the idea which a Spanish governor-general entertained of what is "laudable and generous"! The mind is fairly stunned by such perversion of language, picturing a corresponding falsification of all the noblest instincts of the soul.

The wretched assassin was executed with horrible torture by the infuriated people; but Philip enrolled the criminal's father and mother among the proud nobility of Spain, and *paid them the equivalent of the promised reward out of the confiscated estates of the murdered Orange.*

¹ Motley, "Dutch Republic," vol. iii., p. 613.

Not even assassination could now, however, roll back the tide of freedom. Spain had brought the Netherland people to that pass where death had become the least disaster that millions at once had to fear. At that point tyranny is always foiled. The youthful son of Orange, Maurice of Nassau, grandson on his mother's side of Maurice of Saxony, arose to avenge his father's death, with less than his father's statesmanship, but with more of soldierly and conquering power. At Zutphen, Deventer, Nimeguen, Gertruydenberg, and Gröningen, and on the stricken fields of Turnhout and Nieuport, his burghers defeated the picked and veteran troops of Spain, till in 1609, by "The Twelve Years' Truce," Spain herself was compelled to acknowledge the United Netherland Provinces as a free republic.¹ In spite of all that Spanish force, fraud, and barbarity could do, the Netherlands had built the first great bulwark of modern constitutional freedom.

¹ Motley, "United Netherlands," vol. iv., ch. lii., p. 526.

X

THE SPANIARD IN THE PHILIPPINES

Situation of the Islands—Volcanoes and Earthquakes—Discovery and Conquest—Area and Population—Productions—Commerce—The City of Manila—Wealth—Education—Taxation—Reasons for Revolt—Compared with Hawaii.

SITUATED between the China Sea and the Pacific Ocean, the Philippine Islands form the northern part of the Eastern Archipelago, and comprise more than two thousand islands, which range in size from mere reefs to vast lands of over forty thousand square miles in extent. These islands lie wholly within the tropics, and extend southward nearly to the equator; they are essentially mountainous and subject to destructive volcanic eruptions and earthquakes.

The Philippines were discovered, March 12, 1521, by Magellan, who was soon after killed in a skirmish with the natives. In 1543 a Spanish commander, Villalobos, sailing from Mexico, visited and renamed the group in honor of the Prince of Asturias, afterward Philip II. The group was

officially annexed to Spain in 1569. The city of Manila was founded on the island of Luzon in 1571, and became the capital of the Philippine Islands. Thereafter the surrounding islands were rapidly reduced, the Spaniards sparing neither fire nor sword. The petty Malay chiefs were made governors for the benefit of the Spanish crown.

The area of the Philippine Archipelago is 115,000 square miles. The chief islands are nine in number, and comprise Luzon, with an area of 40,885 square miles; Mindanao or Magindanao, 37,256 square miles; Samar, Panay, Mindorô, Leyte, Cebu, Negros, and Bohol. Luzon, by far the most important island of the group, has upwards of 4,000,000 inhabitants. The total number of inhabitants of the group has been placed between 7,500,000 and 9,000,000. The natives are mostly of the Malayan race, but there are a large number of Chinese, some tribes of Negritos, and a small resident Spanish population, estimated at less than 8,000 persons. The Negritos, a savage people, were probably the aborigines, but very few of them remain, these being scattered over the land in the forests and mountains, to which they withdrew on the approach of the invading Malaysians.

The chief products are hemp, sugar, coffee, copra, tobacco-leaf, cigars, and indigo, and the



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total value of the exports is placed at \$30,500,000 per annum. Tropical fruits and vegetables abound. The islands are covered with immense forests of ebony and ironwood, japan-wood, cedar and gum trees, which furnish timber, dyewoods, and gums.

Most of the commerce of the islands is carried on by Americans, English, and Germans. The chief minerals are coal and iron; there are also some copper, lead, gold, sulphur, cinnabar, quicksilver, and alum, but these resources are but imperfectly developed, and mining is carried on only in the most primitive way.

The city of Manila, situated at the mouth of the Pasig River on the Bay of Manila, is a bustling port, with a population of 270,000. The city proper is built on the left bank of the river, and consists of a group of forts, convents, and administrative buildings. It has seventeen wide streets, about a dozen churches, and three convents. Across the river lies Binondo, a suburb reached by two fine bridges, which is much larger and far more animated than the city where the Spanish population dwells. This is probably due to the fact that Binondo is the residential center of all foreign merchants. Here Germans, Americans, French, and English may be frequently met.

As a commercial center, Manila holds an envi-

able position, situated on the mouth of a navigable river, which is connected with the ports on the opposite or eastern side of the island by a canal, and on the shores of an enormous bay, over one hundred and twenty miles in circumference, which forms a fine natural harbor protected from the highest tides of the monsoon by a sandy bar, called "the Hook." The Philippines are among the richest and most fertile islands in the world. The amount of gold in money sent annually to Spain by those in official position there is enormous, but, large as this is, it is exceeded by the sum sent to China by Chinese traders, who practically alone handle the retail trade of the colony. Attempts to develop the vast natural resources of the islands have never been seriously made. Education, which, as in Spain, is said to be compulsory, has been systematically neglected. The number of literates among the natives is lamentably small, the determined purpose being to keep them in ignorance, and thus in a measure assure their dependence. Some form of instruction is administered by sectarian societies. On account of this criminal neglect the wealthier classes are compelled to send their children abroad to be educated, and they come back determined to be free.

The causes of the constant unrest of the native population are well stated by Dr. C. Worcester,

Dean of the University of Michigan, in an article in the New York *Independent* :

“Extreme poverty is the rule among the civilized natives, and its cause is found in the heavy burden of taxation imposed upon them by their Spanish masters. Every person over eighteen years of age is required to procure annually a *credula personal*, or document of identification, the charge for which varies from \$1.50 to \$25, according to the means of the applicant. Should these sums seem insignificant, it must be remembered that the average native has little or no opportunity to work for hire ; that if he does succeed in securing employment his wages are often no more than five cents a day, and that he is usually unable to dispose of his farm products for cash, being compelled to exchange them for other commodities. In addition to this personal tax there is a tax on coconut-trees, a tax on beasts of burden, a tax on killing animals for food, a tax for keeping a shop, a tax on mills or oil-presses, a tax on weights and measures, a tax on cock-fighting, and so on to the end of the chapter. At every turn the poor native finds himself face to face with the dire necessity of paying *tributo* ; and he frequently spends his life in an ineffectual effort to meet the obligations thus imposed.

“Delinquent taxpayers are treated with the utmost severity. The first step is usually to strip them to the waist, tie them to a bench or post, and beat them unmercifully. I have seen women subjected to this treatment. If this does not suffice, imprisonment follows, while pressure is brought to bear on relatives and friends. Should none of these methods prove effective, deportation follows, with confiscation of property and the leaving of women and children to shift for themselves.

“I once saw forty-four men deported from Siquijor because they owed taxes varying in amount from two to forty dollars. I was informed that they would be allowed

to return to their families, if they could find them, after working out the amount of their several debts. The wages allowed them were to be six cents a day. Board was to be furnished them at a cost of five cents a day, and they were to clothe and shelter themselves! In other words, their sentence amounted to deportation for life.

"The governor-general is surrounded by a numerous corps of officials to aid him in the performance of his duties, while the islands are divided into provinces, over each of which preside a governor and a horde of minor officials. The whole administration is rotten from skin to core. With few exceptions, these officials have come from Spain with the deliberate and frankly expressed intention of improving their pecuniary status. . . . Certain it is that few Philippine governors grow wealthy out of their salaries.

"Hostility toward foreigners is intense. The extensive export and import trade of the islands is in the hands of foreign houses, to the great disgust of the Spanish, who never weary in their *attempts to frame legislation for the ruin of these money-making interlopers.*

"Naturally the Philippine native is a peaceable, easy-going fellow. Under a decent form of government he would give little trouble. No one familiar with existing conditions can doubt that Spanish rule has been a curse to these islands, and it would be a happy day for them should some civilized power take possession of them."

Undoubtedly the control of a vast, mixed, and half-civilized population would be a serious problem for any nation.

But the Spaniard fails to grasp the only key to the situation—the policy of holding the conquered territory for the benefit of the conquered people, as well as of the new settlers—of making

the whole people prosperous and happy on their own soil, and convincing them that they owe this increased prosperity and happiness to the foreign administration or occupation. By this policy, any land can be conquered, and without it no land can be peacefully and permanently held. Governments derive not only "their just powers," but all their really effective powers, "from the consent of the governed."

In 1820 American missionaries went without soldier, musket, cannon, or beat of drum to the Hawaiian Islands; with no attempt at coercion they taught the natives the Christian faith. They labored honestly to make the people possessors of every blessing of a higher civilization. Their sons became, by sheer force of character, first the virtual, and now the recognized rulers of the islands. American settlers have joined them, seeking, often selfishly, but always intelligently, to develop the internal riches of the land. Railroads have been built. The telegraph and telephone are everywhere. Lines of fine, swift steamers ply from port to port, in the inter-island trade. Free schools are everywhere established and education is steadily advancing. Now the whole people are pleading to come under the protection of the American flag. This in less than a century.

Spain has held the Philippines by armed occupation for four hundred and fifty years, seeking to wring from the people all that rigorous and ruinous taxation can extort, while giving them none of the benefits of higher civilization. She has now not an ounce of power outside the range of her guns. The natives, once comparatively peaceful, have become savage and cruel under Spanish oppression.

Some nation with the true genius of colonization should control the islands. The United States would do well—not from greed of empire, but as trustees of seven millions of people—to take possession of the group, relieve the inhabitants from the Spanish system of spoliation and oppression, develop their agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources, introduce a broad and enlightened system of government and education, and make the islands the Hawaii of the Orient.

XI

THE SPANIARD IN CUBA

Description of the Island—Its Area—Its Mineral and Agricultural Resources—Its History Contrasted with that of English Colonies—The British Capture of Havana—Permanent Gain to Cuban Trade—Spanish Captains-General—Elections a Farce—Elected Councilors Removable by the Captain-General—Peninsulars—Creoles—Wasted Revenues—Oppressive Taxation—Revolt and Subjugation—The Reconcentrados—Weyler “Thinks Himself Merciful” —The Experiment of Inhumanity Must Cease.

THE island of Cuba is 760 miles in extreme length, about 30 miles in average breadth, and 135 miles in the widest part. Its area is some 45,880 square miles, almost equal to that of England (50,800 square miles), and a little larger than the State of Pennsylvania (45,215 square miles). It lies just within the tropics, 90 miles from the mainland of Florida. Its productions include almost every description of natural wealth. Its fertile plains could furnish the sugar-supply of the world. Cuban tobacco has no rival. In the mountains lie the precious metals, scarce re-

vealed as yet, together with copper and the richest of iron ore. In the short interval of peace, coffee-plantations have proved immensely profitable.

For nearly three centuries the history of Cuba differs little from that of the neighboring Spanish colonies. The native population was enslaved, and within the first century was practically exterminated. Negroes were brought from Africa as slaves, and now form about one third of the population.

The first notable change came in 1762 when the English, then at war with Spain, captured Havana. Had they held Cuba, her later troubles might have been averted. Meanwhile, under their rule, Havana had been for the first time opened to foreign trade, and could not be again brought under the old restrictions.

In the lands colonized by the English in the New World, four centuries have produced a wealth of history. There are dark pages; but the greater part is a record of unequalled development of resources. The list of statesmen, inventors, and great workers in every industry is a long one, in any of our States. The bare granite hills of New England and the desert plains of Colorado have alike yielded wealth to the race whose industry, enterprise, and thrift refused to be denied. Cuba,

naturally rich, beautiful, and fertile, has but the record of wasted resources.

The history of Spanish rule in Cuba is but the history of every other Spanish dependency, only enacted a little nearer our own shores. There is the ceaseless armed occupation, never let up one moment for four hundred years, except when the British or French were temporarily in control. So far from seeking to make the island self-sustaining, there has been a determined purpose not to suffer it to become so. The island has been ruled by a governor-general from Madrid, in whose appointment the people have had no voice. Elections, since the form has been granted, have been so perverted as to be a mere farce. Yet, lest a popular majority should ever be chosen, a cunningly devised machinery enables the governor-general to remove the majority of the councilors at his pleasure. Office, civil or military, is only for men born on the soil of Spain, expressively termed "Peninsulars." If a Spaniard of the best blood in Spain becomes a planter or otherwise settles in Cuba, his children are "Creoles," shut out of the official and governing class. Thus Spain treats her own sons as foreigners, and so makes them enemies, for none hate Spanish rule more intensely than men of Spanish blood born on Cuban soil.

Cuba is held for Spanish grandees and hidalgos, to make that living by civil and military office which they scorn to make by work. They administer Cuban affairs, not for the benefit of Cubans—whom they hate and despise—but with the single motive of getting money to spend at court, or somewhere on the soil of Spain; and so successfully do they prosecute this industry that an average term of three years accomplishes their purpose. Of \$35,000,000 of annual revenue collected in Cuba, almost all is carried to Spain, instead of being spent for education, roads, railways, telegraphs, and other aids to progress, as has been so intelligently done at the Cape of Good Hope, in Australia, and other English colonies. To exact this revenue without equivalent, taxes are imposed upon the Cubans, under which agriculture and commerce wither and perish, while manufactures are an undreamed-of possibility.

At the first moment of conscious strength the Cubans revolt. Soldiers and officers are sent from Spain to suppress the revolt, and for their maintenance such of the islanders as are not exterminated in the “pacification”—which is the Spanish for subjugation—must pay. Thus every attempt at freedom makes the iron bondage harder.

The present revolt began with the landing in

Cuba of José Marti, as head of a provisional government, and Maximo Gomez, as general-in-chief, in February, 1895. During the three years, Spain has sent to the island 140,000 regular troops and enrolled 60,000 volunteers. Of the regulars, more than 25,000 have died, and at least 15,000 are in hospital. The insurgents number about 25,000 armed men, maintaining a guerilla warfare. The feature of this war which has eclipsed all others in intense and painful interest, has been the *reconcentrado* system enforced by General Weyler, by which five or six hundred thousand non-combatants, chiefly women and children, driven from rural homes into the towns, and corralled there by Spanish bayonets, were left to starve in full sight of the soldiers and officers who are called chivalrous and brave, while not an armed man ate one ration the less, till four hundred thousand of the victims had died before America interposed.

The following table of statistics was published on the 16th of February of the present year in *The Christian Herald*, whose editor, Dr. Klopsch, did such devoted service in the attempt at rescue:

“NEARLY HALF A MILLION DEAD OF FAMINE.

“These statistics of Cuba’s hunger-plague are furnished by Mr. Sylvester Scovel, now in Cuba, and are drawn

from official and other sources. They are entirely reliable.

Normal population of Cuba.....	1,600,000
Cubans living out of Cuba during the war.....	100,000
Cuban insurgents and their families in the field.....	270,000
	<hr/> 370,000
Number of "concentrados" in fortified towns.....	1,230,000
"Reconcentrados" brought into towns (now dead).....	380,000
Lower classes of townspeople (dead)...	100,000
Estimated number dead of starvation...	<hr/> 480,000
Alive in the towns of Cuba to-day.....	750,000

"These figures are wholly outside of losses sustained by the war."

In such a record, we see the same race that slaughtered unarmed men and helpless women by thousands in Netherland cities, faithful to its ancestral traditions, coming down the ages unreformed and unrepenting. Most striking is it to find that even now the Spaniards can not see that they have done anything wrong. Captain-General Weyler, in an interview published in *The Daily Telegraph*, said, when asked if he had been cruel:

"*I don't know. I don't trouble to consider. I am a military man and do not live for myself, but for my country. I was sent to make war upon the rebels, and I did this, and neither more nor less than this. . . .*

"*I am old-fashioned enough to think myself merciful. I was rigorous, just, and resolute. I had a problem to solve by the rules of military science. I have earned the*

hatred and provoked the curses of the sworn enemies of Spain ; but *it will never cause me a bad night's sleep.*"

This shutting up defenseless women and children between lines of bayonets, to die of hunger before the eyes of well-fed troopers, as no American would corral cattle, is the idea that a Spanish captain-general of the nineteenth century has of "making war"! In doing this he "*thinks himself merciful*"!

And not only Weyler, but comparatively mild-tempered men like Blanco and Sagasta, can see no reason why any one should interfere, and regard any claim of humanity on the part of the people of the United States as absurd affectation. Yet a tithe of what Spain is now spending for war in behalf of oppression would have fed all these unfortunates, and averted all the misery and lingering death. This obtuseness of inhumanity is the last count in the indictment of Spanish rule. The men who are capable of doing this, and incapable of seeing the wrong of it, are not to be trusted to govern any subject population. No system of "autonomy" *which they are to administer and interpret* would have any value.

As a colonizer, Spain has had the ample trial of centuries, and been woefully found wanting. It only remains to decree that she shall perform her bloody experiments on human nature no more.

XII

THE SPANIARD ON THE SEA

Spain's Advantages as a Sea-power.—Early Successes of Aragon.—Battle of Lepanto.—Spanish and Dutch Vessels Compared.—Effect of National Character on Maritime Ascendency.—Victory of Van Tromp.—The Armada.—The British Outsail the Spaniards.—The Spaniards Shoot Wild and High.—British Shots at the Water Line.—The Spaniards Retreat to Calais.—English Fire-Ships.—The Dutch keep Parma Blockaded.—The Armada Retreats through the North Sea.—Battle of Manila.—Admiral Dewey's Official Account.—National Qualities Contrasted.

SPAIN'S extensive seacoast and excellent harbors, her commanding position, with the Atlantic on one side and the Mediterranean, open to all the rich trade of Italy and the Levant, on the other, with her colonies in the New World and in the Orient, should have made her the greatest sea-power of modern times.

While still a separate kingdom, and in hot conflict with the Saracens for mere existence, the little mountainous and maritime state of Aragon

had maintained a lucrative commerce and won important naval successes.

In the great battle of Lepanto, in 1571, in conjunction with the Venetians, Genoese, and soldiers of the Papal States, the Spaniards annihilated the Turkish fleet, but they have never been fortunate in naval contests with the Germanic races. Against these, the English and the Dutch, they were brought to measure themselves in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and always disastrously.

Mahan, in his great work, "The Influence of Sea-Power upon History," clearly shows how the national character of the Spaniards was responsible for the decline of their power at sea.¹

"If history may be believed, the way in which the Spaniards . . . sought wealth not only brought a blot upon the national character, but was also fatal to the growth of a healthy commerce. . . . The desire for gain rose in them to fierce avarice; so they sought in the new-found worlds . . . not new fields of industry, not even the healthy excitement of exploration and adventure, but gold and silver. They had many great qualities; they were bold, enterprising, temperate, patient of suffering, enthusiastic, and gifted with intense national feeling. . . . [Yet] since the battle of Lepanto in 1571, though engaged in many wars, no sea-victory of any consequence shines on the pages of Spanish history; and the decay of her commerce sufficiently accounts for the painful and

¹ Ch. ii., pp. 50-53.

sometimes ludicrous inaptness shown on the decks of her ships of war."

The English and Dutch had pursued a different course. Of them the writer above quoted says: ¹

"These two nations . . . were by nature business men, traders, producers, negotiators. Therefore both in their native country and abroad, whether settled in the ports of civilized nations, or of barbarous Eastern rulers, or in colonies of their own foundation, they everywhere *strove to draw out all the resources of the land*, to develop and increase them. The quick instinct of the born trader, shop-keeper if you will, sought continually new articles to exchange; and this search, *combined with the inäustrious character evolved through generations of labor*, made them necessarily producers. At home, they became great as manufacturers; abroad, where they controlled, *the land grew richer continually*, products multiplied, and the necessary exchange between home and the settlements called for more ships. . . . Thus in many ways they advanced to power at sea.

"The tendency to trade, involving of necessity the production of something to trade with, is the national characteristic most important to the development of sea-power."

In 1639, the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp, the same who afterward sailed the English Channel with a broom at his masthead in token that he had swept the seas, defeated a powerful Spanish fleet in the Straits of Dover. The Spanish ships numbered sixty-seven, many carrying from sixty to one hundred guns, under the command of Ad-

¹ Ch. ii., pp. 52, 53.

miral Oquendo, while Van Tromp at the beginning of the action had but sixteen vessels under his command ; reinforced, he again attacked the Spaniards, who cut their cables to escape. Many were driven ashore, and almost all were captured or sunk, and the Spanish navy was practically destroyed.

In 1588 occurred the great life-and-death wrestle between England and Spain in the descent upon the English coasts of what the Spaniards fondly termed "the Invincible Armada." On Saturday, July 30th, the Armada, in a great crescent, seven miles between the horns, entered the English Channel. It numbered upward of 130 ships, of 59,120 tons in all, and carrying 3,165 guns. It contained 64 galleons, "huge, round-stemmed, clumsy vessels, with bulwarks three or four feet thick, and built up at stem and stern like castles," each rowed by 300 galley-slaves. There were four galeasses, even larger than the galleys, with cannon between the rowers' benches, and with splendid state apartments and every appointment of ostentatious luxury. The fleet carried about 30,000 men, including 19,000 Spanish troops, 8,000 sailors, and 2,000 galley-slaves; also, a force of noble volunteers of the most illustrious houses in Spain, numbering with their attendants upward of 2,000. There were besides, nearly 300 monks, priests,

and familiars under charge of the vicar-general of the Inquisition, who were to set up that dread tribunal in conquered England. The fleet carried provisions and supplies to sustain forty thousand men for four months, with a vast amount of ammunition for small-arms, but with only sixty charges for each cannon, which had evidently been deemed sufficient to finish the English fleet.

To oppose this force, the English had but 67 ships, but these were under the command of Howard, Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins. In the calm night of the 30th while the Spanish fleet lay in wait off Plymouth, the English ships slipped out of harbor into the open sea behind it. There, with a fresh west wind astern, they refused all attempts of the Spaniards to force a general action:

“The high-towered, broad-bowed galleons moved like Thames barges piled with hay, while the sharp, low English sailed at once two feet to the Spaniards’ one, and shot away as if by magic in the eye of the wind. It was as if a modern steam-fleet was engaged with a squadron of old-fashioned three-deckers, choosing their own distance, and fighting or not fighting, as suited their convenience.”

Soon, Howard’s flagship, the *Ark Raleigh*, with three other vessels, sailed along the whole rear line of the Armada, firing into each galleon as they passed, then returning on the same track,

¹ Froude, “History of England,” vol. xii., ch. xxxvi., p. 482.

pouring in broadsides from the other side. The Spanish fired wildly and high, their shot scarcely touching the English fleet, while their own great ships, being at leeward and leaning over to the wind, exposed their hulls below the water-line, where the English shot went crashing through.

The Armada gave up the contest and moved up the Channel, huddled together in disorder with the rising wind, in the rough, rolling sea. Foul-
ing each other, one of their most important ships was damaged and left to her fate. From this capture and another that soon followed, the English obtained some tons of gunpowder, of which the parsimony of Elizabeth had kept her ships desperately short.

The running fight went on with scarcely any injury to the English, but with heavy losses on the Spanish side, as the Spaniards still fired wild and high, while the English sent their shots crashing through the four feet of timber which had been meant for protection, killing and wounding more by splinters than by shot. The Spanish admiral, Medina-Sidonia, at length withdrew before the enemy that he could not touch, and on Saturday came to anchor at Calais Roads, and sent to Captain-General Parma, in the Netherlands, for assistance. His letter is fairly piteous:

"The enemy pursue me," he writes. They fire on me

most days from morning till nightfall, but they will not close and grapple. . . . They have men and ammunition in abundance, while these actions have almost consumed ours. " ¹

Yet at that very time Howard had but five scanty dinners and one breakfast left for his hard-worked men, and powder sufficient for but one day's fighting. He must act or be driven from the sea by starvation. On the night of Sunday, August 7th, eight of the least valuable ships of the volunteer fleet that accompanied him were filled with combustibles, the rigging smeared with pitch, while English crews took the ships through the darkness down close to the crowded Spanish fleet, set fire to them, and left them to drift down with the tide upon the enemy, trusting themselves to escape in boats. As the dark hulks, that had been dimly seen, suddenly burst into flame, an indescribable panic took place among the Spanish fleet. The ships cut or slipped their cables, and hurried in confusion out to sea. There Howard and Drake fell upon them, still with the same swift sailing and deadly marksmanship, till in the Spanish fleet—

"the middle decks were turned into slaughter-houses, and in one ship blood was seen streaming from the lee-scuppers. Their guns were most of them dismantled or

¹ Froude, "History of England," vol. xii., ch. xxxvi., p. 492.

knocked in pieces, and their chief work was to save themselves from sinking by nailing sheets of lead over the shot-holes." ¹

The Armada was driven toward Ostend, ships being constantly sunk or driven ashore, while the English paused for no captures, for their orders were to "sink or destroy."

Despairing of help, thoroughly beaten at last by the superior seamanship and marksmanship of the English, with four thousand men drowned or shot to death, and an uncounted number of wounded, the Armada sailed away through the North Sea in the attempt to return to Spain by way of the Orkneys.

With unseaworthy vessels, in an unknown and dangerous sea, storm finished what battle had begun, and but fifty-four vessels, shattered and leaking through every seam, and less than ten thousand men, weak, wretched, and pestilence-smitten, reached, some time in October, the coast of Spain.

Through the summer the Spanish people had been assured that the Armada had won great victories; that "the great dog, Sir Francis Drake," was a prisoner in chains; and there were bonfires and rejoicings in the cities of Spain. The fact

¹ Froude, "English History," vol. xii., ch. xxxvi., p. 504.

of the awful defeat with the loss of the best and bravest of the land fell upon the nation with crushing force.

The great battle of the seas had been fought and won, not alone for England, but for civilization and for the world. As whelming surge and battering cannon drove the Armada in wreck through the North Sea, England and Spain swung apart forever to opposite destinies, and the English character, English manufactures, commerce, and conquests, English enlightenment, literature, and constitutional freedom—which are also the glorious heritage of our American republic—were saved from the blighting touch of Spanish domination. The same qualities that gave the English the victory over the Spanish Armada were shown when, in 1587, Sir Francis Drake, with thirty ships, ran the batteries at the mouth of the harbor of Cadiz, defeated the Spanish war-ships, and destroyed their richly laden transports in their own waters; when again in 1718, the Spanish navy was destroyed by Byng off Cape Passaro, and yet more signally when Nelson defeated the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar in 1805.

Now, though it is yet too early to predict the results of the Cuban war, the Anglo-Saxon, as represented by the American Republic, has sig-

nally triumphed over the power of Spain once more in the far East. Thousands of miles from any base of supplies, with no place of retreat in case of disaster, Commodore, now Admiral George Dewey, on the night of April 30, 1898, with all lights out, and men at the guns, steamed past the batteries guarding the mouth of Manila Bay, and there, on the still waters, allowed his men to sleep quietly till daybreak beside their guns. The Spanish fleet, superior in numbers but about equal in armament, lay under the protection of powerful shore-batteries. With daylight, in perfect silence the ships moved into action, till, as Spanish shells exploded near, a shout went up, caught from ship to ship, "Remember the *Maine*!" Having made five runs along the Spanish line, Admiral Dewey, with wonderful calmness and self-possession, drew away at the end of two hours' firing to give breakfast to his wearied men, who had been working on merely a single cup of coffee each, served out before the action began.

It was then that the Spaniards, as in the Armada days, but with the telegraph now to expedite the news, sent home that report of victory that brought tears to the eyes of the Spanish minister of marine in Madrid.

At ten minutes of eleven o'clock, the signal for close action again went up, and the American

line, the *Baltimore* leading now, advanced upon the Spanish fleet, the renewed firing beginning at sixteen minutes past eleven. As the Spanish fire slackened, the light-draft American vessels steamed closer in, the little *Petrel* running to within a thousand yards. The Spanish flagship, the *Reina Cristina*, and the *Castilla* had long been burning; others, including the *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, had been sunk, the shore batteries silenced, and at half past twelve o'clock a white flag was hoisted on the arsenal staff at Cavité. The total result is briefly and simply told in the official despatches of Admiral Dewey:

“MANILA, May 1st.

“The squadron arrived at Manila at daybreak this morning. Immediately engaged the enemy and destroyed the following Spanish vessels: *Reina Cristina*, *Castilla*, *Ulloa*, *Isla de Cuba*, *General Lozo*, the *Duero*, *Correo*, *Velasco*, *Mindanao*, one transport, and the water battery at Cavité. The squadron is uninjured, and only a few men were slightly wounded. The only means of telegraphing is to the American consul at Hongkong. I shall communicate with him.

DEWEY.”

“CAVITÉ, May 4th. .

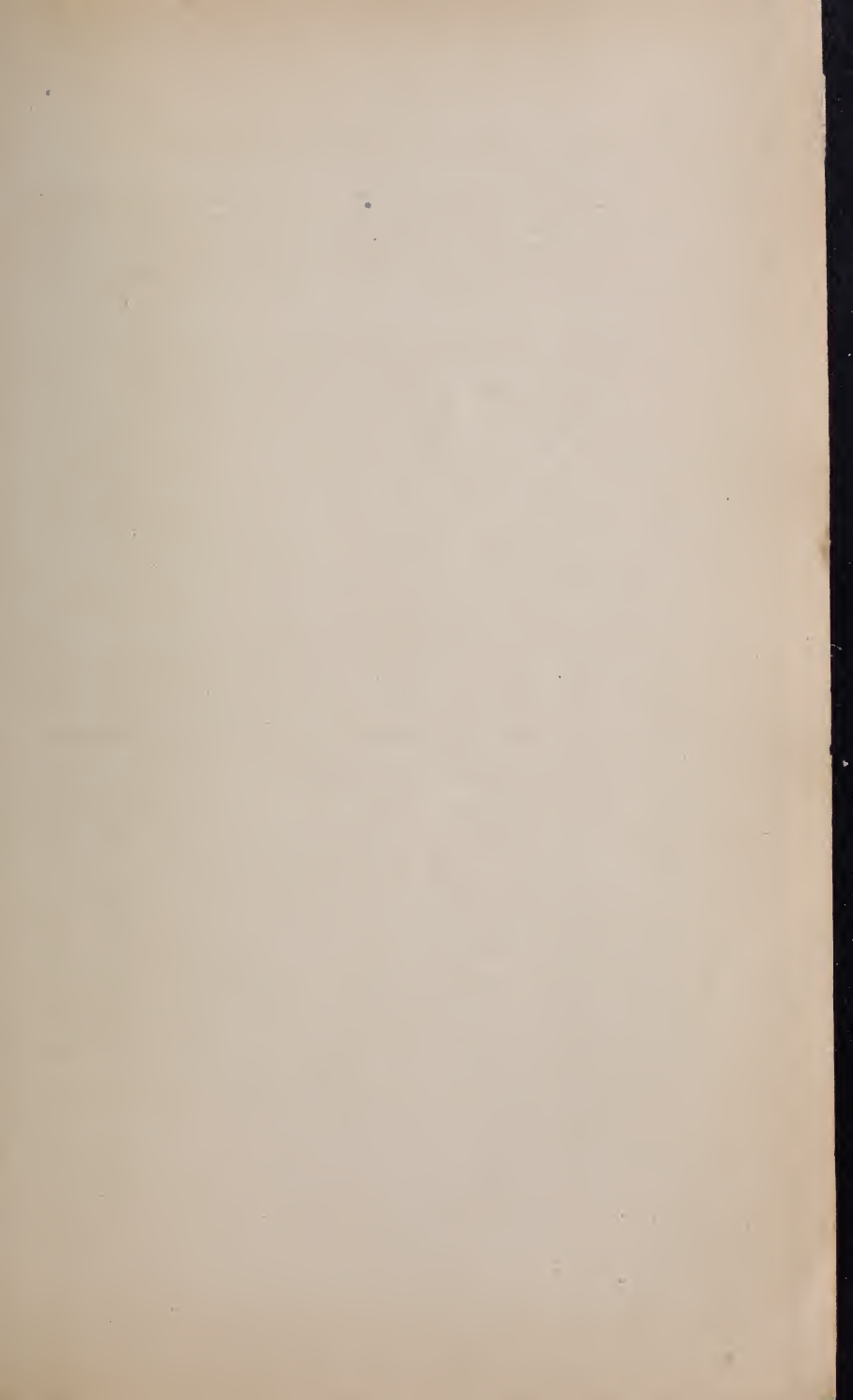
“I have taken possession of naval station at Cavité, on Philippine Islands. Have destroyed the fortifications at bay entrance, paroling garrison. I control bay completely and can take city at any time. The squadron in excellent health and spirits. Spanish loss not fully known, but very heavy. One hundred and fifty killed,

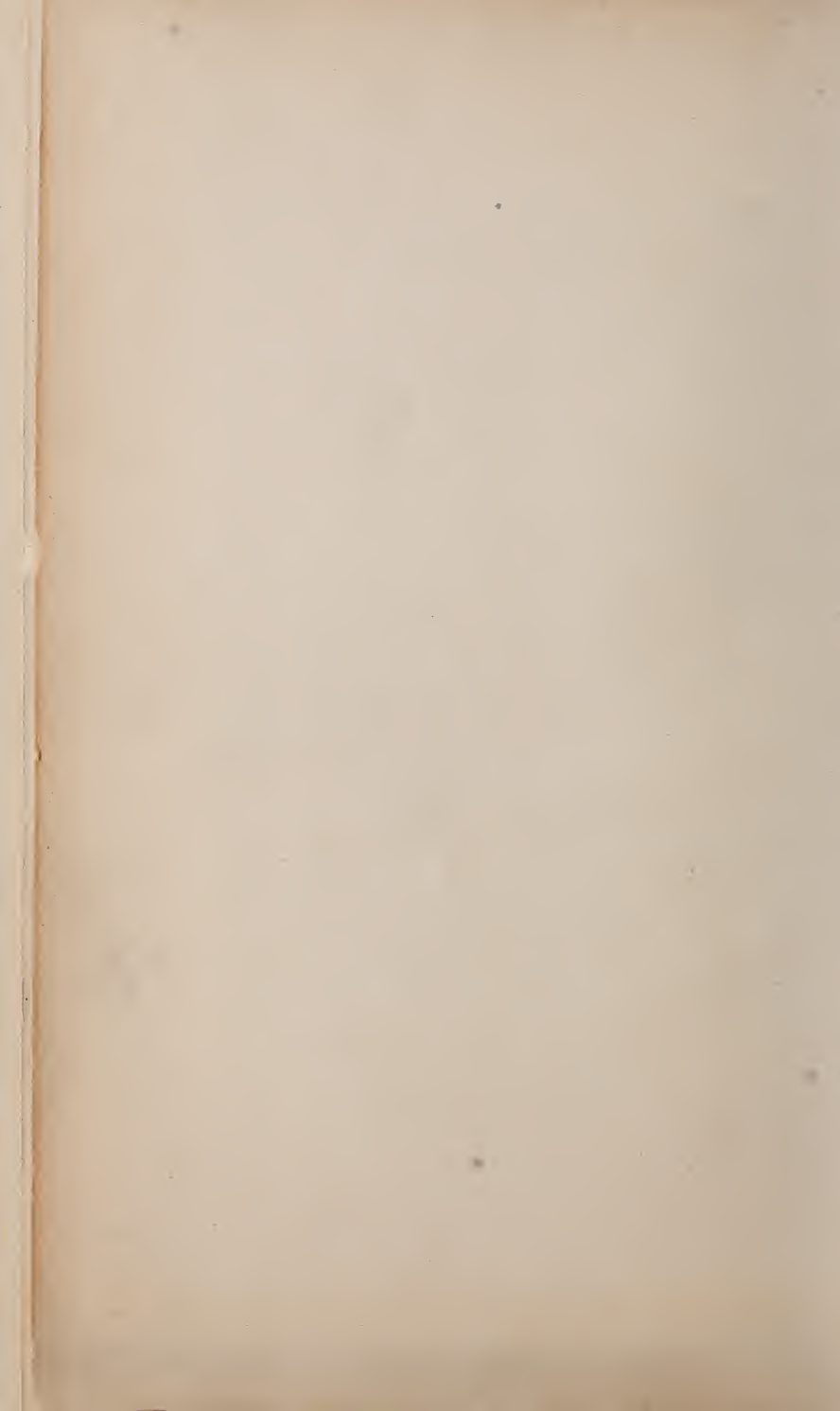
including captain of *Reina Cristina*. I am assisting in protecting Spanish sick and wounded. Two hundred and fifty-six wounded in hospitals within our lines. Much excitement at Manila. Will protect foreign residents.

“DEWEY.”

This wonderful achievement of the storming of an enemy's harbor, with not a ship lost nor a man killed, and but seven slightly wounded, while the enemy's loss was so heavy in ships and men, can only be accounted for, as in the victory of the English over the Armada, by the admirable maneuvering and marksmanship of the American fleet, joined with the phenomenal inaccuracy of the Spanish gunners.

The continual defeats of the Spaniards on the sea are thus the outcome of all their history. A nation that persistently despises and destroys those industrial and mechanical pursuits that train eye, hand, and nerve to steadiness and accuracy through generations, can not prosecute successfully even its cherished vocation of war—especially when, as now, war becomes a contest of instruments of precision. But it appears also clear that modern war, though using mechanism, is not to be mechanical. Still, as of old, the national and personal characters of the men that wield the weapons are the factors that determine victory.









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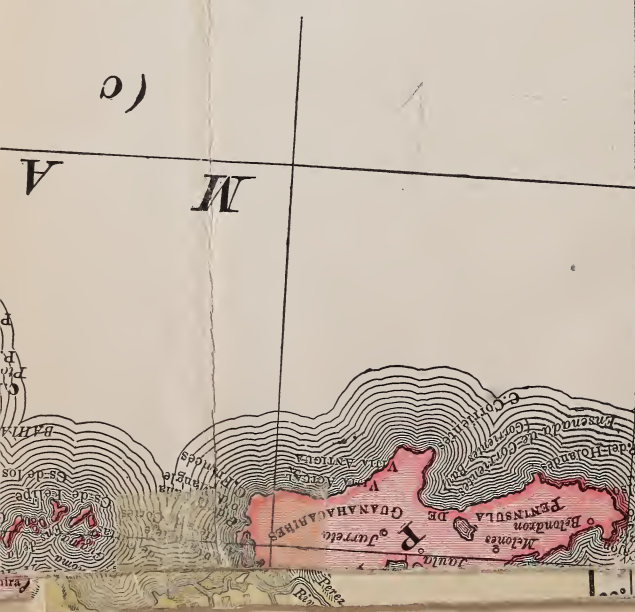
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